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PREFACE

Although the labor expended in the collection of details set out in this volume has extended over many years, yet the catalogue of martyrdoms is far from being complete. No attempt has been made to include among the list of destructions inflicted on works of literature accidents of fire or other calamity, however disastrous to collections of books. The instances recorded are believed to have arisen from either an open and avowed hostility to the literature destroyed or from a wanton disregard of the value of literary treasures. In many cases the general spirit and tone of mind of a community, as evidenced by its public libraries, and literature, has been the cause of deadly hostility. "Man marks the earth with ruin." Not only individual cities such as Palmyra, Baalbec, Thebes, Carthage, attest this destructive frenzy, but entire countries evince the rage for rapine and devastation. Mexico, Peru, North India, Persia, the coasts of the Mediterranean, the banks of the Tweed and Rhine, Arabia, the Red sea shores, and notably the home of religious classic culture—Palestine, are strewn with the broken remnants of the great works, architectural and literary, of former generations.

If any verbal argument could indicate a proof contradictory of the great principle of evolution, it would surely be supplied by reasoning from the palpable contrariety between men and their environment as manifested

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INTRODUCTION

Public libraries owe their origin to the necessity for the preservation of public records. Laws for the police of kingdoms, and the treaties between warring nations must be always accessible, both for the daily guidance of individuals, the support of authority, and the avoidance of contention on public questions with neighboring states. The care of these records was frequently assigned to those persons who possessed, not only knowledge of the reading and writing of their time, but of such scientific subjects as were studied by thoughtful men. The ministrations of religion and the pursuit of science sometimes became the duties of the same individuals. In Egypt such appears to have been the case during the later dynasties. But there were always court dignitaries, scholars, philosophers, and historians who were not priests. These public servants composed records which, in Babylonia and Assyria, became the earliest known public libraries.

The books contained in these repositories were, if not from the outset yet very early, devoted to public use, and librarians were appointed to catalogue, arrange and superintend the use and distribution of them. Works on astronomy, botany, government, polite arts, health, war and other subjects were thus available. Laws were necessarily referred to in judicial determinations. As history, poetry, romances, grammar, rhetoric, became subjects of study,

scratched with a pointed stylus, and strung together and tied with cord have treated of every form of ethics and science known to the authors since the establishment of an oriental literature.

As the Roman empire became Christian the statesmen, philosophers, and scientific inquirers were necessarily acquainted with the classic literature of their fathers. Homer, Pericles, and Demosthenes, Cicero, Horace, and Seneca, Plato and Æschylus, Sappho and Theocritus, Sophocles and Terence were in the hands of scholars, lawyers, pedagogues, nobles, senators, and military governors of provinces. The instance of Agricola accompanied by his own historian Tacitus is far from solitary. Constantine's officers were men of large culture. The age of the Antonines was continued, in much of its philosophic spirit, to that of Justinian. The prætors, judges, and colonial magistrates who had been versed in the principles of Gaius, that still constitute the glory of legal learning, all possessed libraries. As the world became Christian these were not at once thrown aside. But as the spirit of eremite fanaticism grew, and men withdrew to solitary contemplation, books became less tasteful. The Scriptures gradually usurped the sole respect of devout persons and THEN THE CIVIL WAR OF LITERATURE BEGAN.

Princes and poets, lawyers and philosophers all through the middle ages strove to remedy the dreadful effects of the refusal of general education beyond the narrow and unpractical trivium and quadrivium of their day.

The efforts of Petrarch and Boccaccio to discover books, and the researches of these excellent men all through Europe for manuscripts indicate the extreme dearth of books even in Italy.

ble as the date of the MAGNA CHARTA of modern literature, the famous circular addressed to the bishops by their sovereign, prescribing an amendment of life and of learning. It is remarkable that this great edict was not the result of petition, or the effect of remonstrance or effort from without. It was the monarch's own act for the good of his people. It ought to be read by all.

“We have determined that the dioceses and monasteries which by the favor of Christ have been committed to our administration, besides the order of regular life, and the practice of holy religion, ought also to apply their care to teach the subjects of literature to those who, by the grace of God, can learn, according to the capacity of each; in such wise that as the law ought to regulate and adorn purity of manners, so also assiduity to teach and to learn ought to regulate and adorn the formality of language, so that those who aspire to please God by godly lives should not neglect also to please him by correctness of speech.

“It is written, ‘By thy words thou shalt be justified or condemned;’ for although it is better to behave well than to be well informed, yet knowledge precedes action. Each person then ought to learn to obtain the end he proposes in such a manner that the soul may comprehend as much more liberally what it ought to do, as the tongue can recite the praises of God without the least error in the sound.

“Now if falsehood must be avoided by all men, how much more earnestly ought it to be shunned by those who are specially chosen for the service of truth!—and as during these recent years writings have been addressed to us from different monasteries, in which information is conveyed that the brethren who dwelt there have offered very pious and holy prayers on our behalf, we have perceived in the greater part of these writings a direct meaning but an uncouth language; for that which sincere devotion dictated faithfully to the substance, ignorant language was incapable of expressing to the reader without errors, through want of sufficient education, whence

impart gratuitous instruction in reading to all children that might apply. This capitulary was in some instances locally issued by the bishop in compliance with imperial instructions. France owes her public schools, and all the rest of Europe likewise to this wise and beneficent provision. But when the firm hand of the emperor was removed, these institutions were everywhere neglected by the clergy; and in the following reign the complaint of Lupus of Ferrieres,—A. D. 862,—the most prominent scholar of the time, was loud “that the study of letters was almost forgotten. Everybody complained of the incapacity of the teachers, the scarcity of books, and the want of leisure from the claims of daily toil.”

The separation of secular from religious schools was formally effected by the capitulary of 817 which prescribed “that no school be kept in a monastery except of those devoted to the church.” “*Ut schola in monasterio non habeatur nisi eorum qui oblatisunt.*” The extension and adoption of this principle in national education is found in the request to the emperor Charles the Bald here noticed:—“*Similiter obnixe et suppliciter vestræ celsitudini suggerimus, ut morem paternam sequentes, saltem in tribus congruentissimis imperiî vestri, et vester per incuriam quod absit labefactando non pereat.*” “Like-wise most earnestly, and with profound submission we suggest to your highness that following the example of your imperial father,” etc. The “*suppliciter suggerimus*” is very different from the haughty tone of later times.

Charlemagne had created a school at the seat of every bishop, at every cathedral, at every monastery, and in every parish. Louis le Debonnaire did for his province of Aquitaine what his father effected for the north. Masters of sacred and secular literature had been invited.

The personal violence of pope Julius to the prince of sculptors and painters, Michael Angelo himself, fitly crowns and typifies the long tyranny of Rome over free thought in art. Church organs were introduced from Constantinople under Pepin. The principles of musical harmony were better known by the pagan Romans than by their successors until the great renaissance under Charlemagne.

During the gloomy period from John VIII, in the closing years of the ninth century, to Leo IX, in the eleventh, the world was sunk low indeed. As Baronius has remarked, "Jesus Christ slept a profound sleep in his boat in the midst of the storm; courtezans then disposed of the chair of St. Peter."

The schools founded by Charles impressed themselves on the tenth age. Remy of Auxerre, who governed the schools of Reims and Paris at the opening of this century, had been a pupil of Heiric, who had been taught by Lupus and Haimon, disciples of Rabanus Maurus, himself a pupil of Alcuin, and the Elisha of his fame. Hucbald, again, deceased in 930, was the pupil of the same Haimon, and thus inherited the science of Alcuin also. The schools of Reims and Fleury sur Loire shed a bright light. The former produced Ado, who was master of all the philosophy of his age,—music, poetry, arithmetic, dialectics, and astronomy. Reims traces its origin to Charlemagne.

In illustration of the difficulties that scholars encountered in procuring books, and the manner in which copies were obtained, some interesting correspondence of Lupus of Ferrieres may be quoted. Writing to Eginhard the biographer of Charlemagne, he says: "I will go and see you in order to return your books, and learn from you what those volumes are that I require.

whom the beauty of the manuscript would readily tempt, and thus it might be lost both to you and to me."

The sentiments of scholars in the tenth century are well represented by Gerbert. Instructed as he was in all the science of the age he took place among the crowd of scholars who frequented the imperial court, and were found in smaller numbers attached to every palace in Europe.

His division of the sciences is memorable. Philosophy, in his view, is the Genus, of which the species are Theory and Practice. Practice is divided into dispensative, distributive and civil. Theory includes physics,—the science of the natural; mathematics,—the science of the intelligible, and theology,—the science of the intellectual. This grand boldness places physics, mathematics and theology in the same line, and makes them three divisions of philosophy.

The growth of secular kingdoms, the contentions of cities, leavened by the spirit of civil freedom inherited through the ages from the Roman municipal principles, the diffusion of commerce, the growth first of local and common law and the radiance of Justinian's code, the multiplied needs of secular communities, the relations of property, the freedom of charters, the discovery of the tremendous fraud that dictated all the crusades except the first, and the rationalistic spirit which moved thinkers, ever in increasing numbers, to investigate the mysteries of nature,—all these influences constituted in the aggregate a mighty force of tendencies and guiding principles that first opposed, then resisted, and finally crushed the fiendish fanaticism that struggled to destroy the opportunities and the fruits of the most useful investigations.

MARTYRDOMS OF LITERATURE

EGYPT

Egypt is the mother country of our literature. The art of writing necessarily extended itself to the production of books. Memorials rudely inscribed on blocks of stone, then engraved on tablets, natural and artificial, and on cliff faces smoothed and squared, were very early succeeded by more portable records. Deeds of arms, political events, and scientific phenomena, were all inscribed as proofs of greatness, or as reckoning points in national history. As these records must needs be consulted, officers were appointed to preserve them. These

Ancient functionaries were appropriately adepts in
Records. reading ancient records, and in the preparation of new ones. Policies and theologies were thus transmitted; and the necessity for investigating these memorials conferred a degree of publicity and right of examination, which was the only condition of their usefulness. While monarchs thus coveted pub-

lic glory, and associated themselves with general knowledge, hierarchies veiled their mysterious inspirations with obscurity and secrecy. The subtleties of divine abstraction would not endure vulgar handling.

While the literature of dynasties has thus largely perished, that of alleged theocracies has survived through the secrecy that shrouded it. A line of Kings may terminate abruptly; a transmission of mysteries deemed sacred cannot be reached so effectively as to be suppressed by external violence. Practical knowledge is usually associated with national and political progress. Hence the contests of competitors for political power have always, until the most recent times, included the obliteration of the literary tendencies and scientific knowledge on which rival greatness was founded. When hierarchies obtained temporal rule they always adopted the same conduct, and sustained their violence not only with the sword of the state, but with the more imperious assertion of divine right to uphold mysteries and sacred things. In those cases a chaos of literature has always followed, and from the nature of the event itself always must follow. The freedom of literature is not yet two centuries old anywhere, and through a large portion of the world does not yet exist.

While Rameses the Great is obscurely stated to have founded a literary institution, the Ramisseum,—yet the most venerable collection of books that may be styled a library is known in history as the “Library of Osmandyas.” It is believed on good grounds to have been placed in the palace temple of Thebes in Egypt. European investigators have been particularly interested in this collection on account of the expressive inscription stated

Library
of
Osmandyas.

by Diodorus to have been placed over the doorway: "The Dispensary of the Mind."

The Memnonium is stated by Sir Gardiner Wilkinson to have contained two inner chambers, one of which enclosed this sacred library. M. Champollion declares that on the door jambs of the first of these rooms are sculptured "Thoth the Inventor of Letters," and "The Goddess Saph his Companion:" and the titles "Lady of Letters," and "President of the Hall of Books." This monument is ascribed to the fourteenth century, B. C. Plots of land were set apart in Egypt for library maintenance. One of these "School Sections" is in the neighborhood of the pyramid of Cheops, and was described as the "Land of the Library of the Saphis:"

Thebes. Thebes continued to be a centre of knowledge during many ages and successive dynasties. Her massive walls and pillars seemed built to defy time. The city, long the most important in Egypt, was pillaged by Asshur-Banipal in the seventh century, B. C. But the conqueror was probably bought off by a large payment. A still more severe assault was inflicted a century later by Cambyses, the Persian, whose sole motive was rapacity. The foundation of Alexandria diverted from Thebes the chief portion of its trade, but the ancient capital was still the religious and literary centre, although deprived of its chief revenue, and most of its political power. The complete overthrow of Thebes was effected by Ptolemy Lathyrus, B. C. 86, and the city was left a mere wreck, while it contained still the chief shrine of Ammon. But from that date Thebes lay prostrate; and it is to this period that the extirpation of the library may most reasonably be referred. It is probable that many of the papyri were removed to the Serapeum at Alexandria, as that insti-

tution was the pride of the Ptolemies, and largely relied on for the allurements of strangers to the city. So complete was the overthrow of Thebes by Ptolemy Lathyrus than it took no part in the affairs of Egypt even while nominally the capital of a Roman prefecture. The fury of the iconoclastic Christians in the Thebaid, in their zeal against idolatrous monuments was easily gratified in the case of Thebes; as no vestige of the power of resistance remained. The Saracens completed the ruin.

Pagan Books. The Greek philosopher Aristotle has earned the pre-eminent distinction of being the founder of modern libraries, as well as of modern philosophy and science. Individual scholars no doubt possessed collections of books before Aristotle; but the collections which this illustrious philosopher accumulated, acquired so much celebrity that they created a taste for similar collections in the minds of princes and conquerors. Even during his destructive expedition against Persia, Alexander remembered the library of his great preceptor, and despatched important additions to it from Babylonia. Pisistratus had indeed established a library at Athens about B. C. 550, but the books were carried away to Persia by Xerxes, and not finally restored to Athens until the emperor Hadrian accomplished that object. The actual presence of these books in Europe, and the distinction of learning attached to the owner of them produced little or no effect. Polycrates, of Samos, also established a library about B. C. 530, but as that ruler was enticed to Magnesia by the Satrap of Sardes, and crucified, B. C. 522, his books did not produce much impression.

The success of the new commercial port of Alexandria, and the assemblage of nationalities represented in its motley population, suggested to Ptolemy Soter, to whom

Alexander gave the province of Egypt, the propriety of harmonizing the various philosophical principles, or at least of providing mental pabulum for the various communities brought together in pursuit of that kind of happiness called gain.

Alexandria. For this political and social purpose Ptolemy created the Museum at Alexandria, and attached thereto a large and varied library. Many schools of philosophers were attracted to the young community, and Ptolemy wisely concluded that the mental activity thus brought into prominence, and containing many subjects likely to create collision, would be better employed in the pursuit of knowledge than in idle speculation, or empty wrangling. He fed the minds of his people in order to occupy them profitably. The philosopher Demetrius, of Phaleræ, was commissioned to purchase books in addition to those procured on the spot. It is possible that Ptolemy was also actuated by a motive similar to that which governed many persons, and many cities during the middle ages—the desire of attracting scholars and students to his capital in order to increase its renown and add to its wealth. In addition to the collection of books, Ptolemy attached to the museum, situated in that part of Alexandria called Bruchion, near the port, schools for the practical application of the principles taught in the books. The subjects included botany, astronomy, anatomy, zoology, geometry, chemistry, engineering, mechanics, as well as speculative philosophy, grammar and rhetoric. It was a comprehensive establishment for the development of human knowledge. Transcribers and translators abounded and were highly honored and well paid. In imitation of this establishment, and probably to attract some wealth and commerce to his capital, Eumenes II of Pergamos, also

established a library. But Ptolemy Epiphanes prohibited the export of papyrus, and the result was the discovery of a new substance, pergamata, or parchment, for book material. Ptolemy Physicon established a second library, perhaps an extension of the original, in the native quarter at Alexandria, the Serapion where stood the temple of Serapis. The number of volumes, or at least of "volumina" in these collections was very large; and the total was much augmented by the purchase of Aristotle's collection by Ptolemy Philadelphus; and the entire library with its accompanying establishment of schools acquired a wide spread celebrity. Alexandria was then in its glory, and contained a large population, B. C. 150. The wealth of India and China was found in its warehouses, and the highest learning possessed by mankind was taught in its academies.

The first serious disaster to this splendid university arose during the assault on the city by Julius Cæsar. The King's fleet in the port of Bruchion was set on fire; the conflagration spread, and that portion of the great library situated in the adjoining quarter of the city was almost wholly destroyed. In order to repair this loss, and exhibit his gallantry at the same time, Marc Antony presented the rival library of Pergamos to Cleopatra;—assuredly a noble gift. This accession increased the number of books in the Serapeum to about 400,000 volumes, the greatest library at that time in the world.

What did it contain? We may well assume that there were the works of Aristotle in their completeness, and their original form, and the writings of the other philosophers which still constitute the basis of philosophic study, and are the delight of Europe, and which led the van of human progress and enlightenment for eighteen hundred years; Homer and the other Greek

poets; Sophocles and the tragedians; the Greek historians, including the works of the "Father of History"—Herodotus,—all these in complete series and probably many copies. The history of the campaigns of Alexander by Ptolemy Soter himself.

There were there in all probability thousands of priceless papyri from Thebes, Memphis, and other ancient cities, thousands more of rolls of Egyptian records which would now illuminate the history of the world. About the time of the foundation of the library for the second time, Euclid the geometrician is stated to have founded a school at Alexandria. The works of this author would now confer celebrity on any collection if recovered in their completeness. No doubt the Serapeum possessed them all. Archimedes of Syracuse was there through his genius which still reflects glory on his memory. The science of Eratosthenes was there in its entirety, and formed a literature in itself. Apollonius Pergeus worthily continued the work of Euclid, and his methods displayed great beauty and precision. Hipparchus the astronomer, illuminated his age B. C. 140, and modern science appeals with pride to his discoveries. Charts and maps of the Mediterranean and the Atlantic coasts of Spain, Gaul, Britain and perhaps Ireland were probably also not wanting in the Serapeum, as the trade of Alexandrine merchants with the ports of Marseilles, Cadiz, Sandwich, and possibly Waterford, and Milford Haven was regularly maintained, and the connection of Ireland and the Greek civilization of Alexandria, was as natural as that between any other two portions of the Western Empire. This connection was sustained until the overthrow of Alexandria by the Saracens, an event which raised a barrier at once between East and West,

and left Ireland isolated with her Greek literature and customs to be brought to light again by Charlemagne.

In that day Rome had no direct connection with Ireland at all; and Irish annalists refer with some pride to association with Egypt. The solution is very simple. All the learning of the most actively scientific age the world had yet seen was represented in the Serapeum, and preserved for the enlightenment of mankind. We may be sure that the Latins were well represented. In addition to the valuable books just alluded to which formed only a small part of the learned labors of the Greek race in Greece itself and the Ægean Isles, in Magna Grecia, in Egypt, in Asia Minor, the collection necessarily included many treatises on magic, rhetoric, medicine, astrology, light poetry, fables, tales, and even frivolities to suit all tastes. Such books can be obtained still without limit. If we might speculate farther we might conclude that many of the historical books of Babylonia, Persia, Assyria, were included in the collection of the Serapeum, all of which have been irretrievably lost. That the Septuagint was there in many splendid copies there can be no doubt, and many other Jewish books. That India and China were not well represented who can assert, and it may be that the barbarity of Chung Wang might have been repaired from the Ptolemaic library but for the still greater barbarity that overwhelmed the literature of the western world at one blow. The activity and perspicacity of mind which these books fostered, were of more value than the contents of the books themselves.

But unhappily the association of a library with the idol of Serapis had become an incongruity, and stirred the ire of the new sect of the Christians who became far more numerous at Alexandria than at Rome. Discus-

sions and controversies between various sections of the Christian community, each representing a separate shade of theology, early occupied attention. Disputes became bitter even to acrimoniousness. Fierce physical strife arose out of these contentions. The Greek metaphysical tendencies fully displayed themselves when dealing with mysteries of faith. Intellectual combats with pagan and semi-pagan philosophers added fuel to the flame. Persecution of the growing sect rendered them relentless when their opportunity arrived, as has happened on many occasions since that time. The bishopric of Alexandria was long among the foremost in rank and power, and much more important than that of Rome. Austerities, borrowed from oriental paganism, intensified devotional zeal; and this asceticism tintured the doctrine and practice of the period, and excluded all ideas but those immediately acting on the ascetic himself. This kind of physical intoxication, being necessarily intro-active, renders its victims greedy and unsociable, and will destroy what it cannot use, in order to deprive others of possible enjoyment; and in obedience to its own moroseness and destructive spirit; it is the nature of the selfish wolf rendered furious by enforced asceticism of its own. Bishops became discontented with the slow methods of controversy; the divine afflatus and intervention they boasted of was found inefficacious and mythical; and the physical power of the empire was at length invoked against their adversaries. On this principle the slugger, and the mercenary ruffian, the swash-buckler and the bravo are more divine and more inspired than reasoners, philosophers, scholars, and multitudes of devout Christians. The philosophical thought of the old

system represented by Hypatia and her academy, then in great repute among the learned and thinking of the old school at Alexandria, was vio-

lently and murderously crushed out in a riot of monks. Hypatia herself was savagely murdered in a fashion that would disgrace a Sioux or an Apache Indian, and cover him with infamy forever among his tribe. Her body was literally scraped to pieces.

Greek metaphysics were shattered by the club of the holy Peter the Reader; Greek ratiocination shivered by the violence of Cyril, the bishop whose office especially required him to be "not a brawler," and "meekly to instruct them that oppose themselves." Before this event the pretended discovery of certain symbols used in the worship of Osiris—probably the Lingam of India,—and the exhibition of them in public, led to a riot in which blood had flowed on both sides. If morality had been the object of these alleged reformers, a prompt, effectual and silent concealment of the offending symbols would have been much more decorous and consistent. It was not morality but excitement and contention that formed the purpose of that exhibition. The dispute was ultimately referred to the Emperor Theodosius. He ordered the Serapeum to be at once destroyed, and assigned the execution of the order to Bishop Theophilus. The work commenced with the library which was plundered and dispersed. No distinction was made. Probably none would have been made even if the monks could estimate the works of science, which assuredly they could not. The temple itself was totally demolished. A. D. 391. The books were scattered and multitudes destroyed. Twenty years later Orosius discovered presses filled with books in many of the temples of Alexandria. The existence of the library as a place of reference and orderly investigation was destroyed forever. Still many volumes remained. But as there existed no common receptacle for them, and no officer

or funds were at hand to care for the books, neglect and insects necessarily made havoc. Yet the treasure was immense.

The commingling of philosophy and faith, of the spirit of ratiocination and of belief independent of reason, which created great agitation during the early centuries of our era, is aptly illustrated by the history of the presbyter Arius of Alexandria. Having imbibed much of the general investigating tendency which distinguished all minds in that city, Arius like many others of his day, and also like many of the best men in all ages, was unable to banish mental processes and conclusions from his theology. The personalities and relations of the great triad denoted by the word Trinity, an expression introduced at that time—towards A. D. 320—formed a basis for inevitable speculation. Arius was an able, learned, and blameless presbyter; and his candidacy for the office of bishop, although unsuccessful, created no criticisms on personal grounds. He represented a school of thought prevailing at that day in Alexandria,—that the Son was not co-eval with the Father; that being a son his duration had not been infinite. Arius expressed this tenet boldly. His competitor, now his metropolitan, Alexander became his adversary, and the city was seriously agitated. The metaphysical and investigating Greeks through Africa and Asia adopted the views of Arius; and the contentions thus created received much severe and contemptuous criticism from Jews and pagans. In order to re-establish quiet, and uniformity of doctrine, if possible, the Emperor Constantine convened the Council of Nicæa, A. D. 325. Arius was condemned, and Constantine of Nicæa. uttered his famous declaration that those who resisted the judgment of the Synod must prepare for

immediate exile. Arius was banished to a remote province of Illyricum and his tenets produced, in that region, effects which continued to be felt for more than a thousand years, and have not disappeared to this day. His writings were condemned to the flames and capital punishment denounced against all persons found in possession of them. The bishops of Marmania and Ptolemais, who also refused to subscribe the creed of Nicæa, were likewise banished to Illyria, and Eusebius of Nicomedia who accepted the tenets of Arius was returned to Gaul. Arius in his banishment was more mighty than in his parish. The title Porphyrean, sneeringly attached to his doctrines from Porphyry a previous assertor of similar principles, only served to perpetuate the memories of two sufferers instead of one, and to distinguish the persons who supported them. But in three short years from the council of Nicæa the emperor relented, the proscribed sectaries were permitted to return, through the friendship, of Constantia, sister of the Emperor, who favored their views. Arius was restored to society, but not to the church, although his doctrine was approved by the synod of Jerusalem. Mutual recriminations agitated the contending parties; and Arius was on the eve of success, after the banishment of Athanasius bishop of Alexandria to Tunis, A. D. 336,—when a sudden and most suspicious illness put an end to his life at Constantinople. The precedent was established of condemning to the flames books that were at least partly Christian, and this example was not lost on posterity. The violent death of Arius was universally attributed by disinterested and disgusted contemporaries to a virulent poison. (See Gibbon ii 327. Note.)

During the next two hundred years the now

dominant Christians were engaged in acrimonious contests respecting various points of orthodoxy and heresy. The heterodox party was numerous, but was crushed. They were correspondingly wrathful and rebellious. Mahomed arose. His Saracens marched, and in less than twelve years after his death were masters of Alexandria, "the great city of the west" with its 4,000 baths, 12,000 dealers in fresh oil, 12,000 gardeners, 40,000 Jews, who paid tribute, and 400 theatres. Faith had expelled reason; and the intellect of the Christian world was eaten hollow by cancerous imaginings on things unknowable, while the practical science of life was abandoned to rationalistic Jews, and heterodox sects, who eagerly welcomed a change of masters.

The Saracens. The Saracens were then in the full fervor of their first fanaticism; and their genius had taken no turn towards scientific studies, as it afterwards did on association with the philosophic mind of the Greeks. A generous toleration, and subsequently a zealous promotion of secular learning greatly distinguished all the caliphs from Bagdad to Cordova, for several centuries. But this feeling again decayed; and the early limitation of Saracen learning to the Koran, and books directly founded on it, returned with more than primitive force. Had Amrou, the victorious conqueror of Alexandria, been confronted with the great library still existing, although dismembered, in that city, during the period of Saracenic scientific culture, it would have been well for mankind. The Saracens as yet—A. D. 640—felt the force of no religious maxim but that one which specially distinguished them, and they were total strangers to science. That the victorious general of such a host should show partiality to the books of the

unbelievers was extremely improbable, if not morally impossible. That his fidelity should appeal to the caliph for instructions as to the disposal of the books may be inferred from the necessity of his position: that John Philoponos should fail to secure the treasure already under the seal of Amrou; and that Omar should return the reply imputed to him:—"If these books agree with the Koran they are unnecessary, if not, they are improper and ought to be destroyed,"—are all extremely natural, and in accordance with the Saracen mind of the moment. The rescript of the caliph corresponds with Omar's historical simplicity and want of education. The establishment of the dogma "There is no god but God, and Mahomed is the prophet of God," constituted the entire purpose for which the Saracen armies had been commissioned, and the preservation of infidel books was directly contrary to that purpose. The direct statement of Abulpharagius, that Omar returned the above reply to Amrou, is altogether sustained by Omar's official station and responsibility. It is not necessary to interpret the statement of six months being required to consume the books, as meaning that no fuel was supplied to the baths but books during that period. The scattered condition of the volumes through the temples, as described by Orosius, renders the statement of time extremely probable. There were plenty of Saracens to take pleasure and pride in destroying books; other fuel was extremely scarce; and that Saracen zeal in thrusting books into the flames did not cease for six months, is highly credible and reasonable.

By this barbarism, only rivalled by many similar acts on the part of modern Rome, the greater Egyptian pharos was extinguished, and its foundations destroyed for ever. Egypt became thenceforward indeed "a base

nation," and the blight of extinguished literature sheds the decay of death over her still.

PERSIA

The old quarrel between Persia and Europe which had descended from the Darius named Gushtasp— B. C. 521, and was inherited and transmitted by Xerxes,—B. C. 486, culminated in the celebrated reprisal by Alexander, son of Philip, King of Macedon. This prince, who had inherited the active and restless vigor of his parents, without the better qualities of either, assumed the championship of Greece, B. C. 334. Crossing the Hellespont with an army of about thirty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, Alexander defeated the Persian hosts in repeated battles. The victories at the Granicus, at Issus, and Gaugamela prostrated the Persian empire. The Darius Codomanus, or Dhara II of the Persian historians made most humiliating concessions. His conqueror knew the power he had acquired and was correspondingly haughty. "You offer me" wrote the victor, "part of your possessions when I am lord of all. If I choose to marry your daughter I will do so whether you are pleased or not." "I am now master of Asia," he wrote again, "and if you will not own me as such I will deal with you as a malefactor. If you wish to controvert the subject do so manfully on the battlefield. I will find you wherever you may be." Persepolis and Paspargadæ were successively occupied, and Alexander allowed his army rest for a month. With his cavalry he scoured the country in every direction. The Darius fell.

during his flight, by the hand of Bessus Satrap of Bactria, and the dynasty of Cyrus became extinct.

During the occupation of Persepolis the inherent virulence of Alexander's temper began to display itself. His early youth had been wholesomely restrained, but now he was lord of two worlds with no control between himself and death. His education by the illustrious philosopher Aristotle, had inculcated in his mind the doctrine of the essential unity of nature; and the observation now thrust upon him of the Zoroastrian adoration of the cherubic powers, as visible in all the principal natural elements, aroused a sense of religious intolerance fully consistent with his temper. Hence the books of the Magians were sought out with intense zeal, and destroyed. Since the days of Gushtasp, the Persians had been intimately associated with the literature of other nations. The Assyrian cuneiform writing bequeathed by the Tartar occupants of the plains in ages still more remote than those of Assyrian civilization, had originated a very extensive literature which reached a high degree of perfection, approaching the elegance, and equalling the minuteness and neatness of printing, in its inscriptions impressed on clay and similar substances.

Libraries with catalogues and bookshelves, and librarians as official functionaries, were an established institution from very remote times; and the Babylonians and Assyrians possessed both. Papyrus was in general use, but an oblong piece of clay was the ordinary book. Every city in Babylonia and Assyria possessed at least one library. Libraries "for the use of the people" are frequently mentioned. The oldest collections of books were those of Babylonia, the mother country of Western Asiatic civilization. The books of Assyria were chiefly copies of earlier Babylonian works.

The Semitic conquest transmitted the Accadian science; and interpreted it to scholars by means of grammars, dictionaries and phrase books. The Assyrian translation was sometimes in parallel columns, and sometimes interlined. Books abounded on astronomy, the polestar, comets, the movements of Venus, on agriculture, treatises on government, on cube roots, lists of animals, countries, catalogues of kings and lists of officers, proverbs, tables of laws and precedents, contracts and leases, and many other subjects useful to an intelligent people. Readers were informed in special instructions to write down the tablet they wished to consult, and the librarian would hand it to them. Librarians were called "men of the written tablets." The first we know of was Arzil-Anu, son of Gandhu. We learn from his signet that he presided over the library of an Accadian king of Ur, the birthplace of Abraham. The signet must be referred to a date at least two thousand years, B. C.

As the empire founded by Cyrus extended over Babylonia, written books must have been very numerous in Persia, the writing being scratched on leaves, or written on papyrus, or skin, or both. The impulse given to learning and literature by the great religious movement of Zoroastres—or Zoroaster, contemporary and subject of Gushtasp, and enjoying that monarch's favor, naturally created a special literary taste. From this period to the Macedonian invasion the Zoroastrian religion flourished at its best. We may thence conclude that not only association with other nations who already possessed an extensive and varied literature, but the encouragement of literary thought among the Persians themselves, produced their natural results in Persia during the 206 years of the dynasty of Cyrus.

That much of the ancient literature still remained, is proven by the fact that Alexander transmitted to Aristotle a Babylonian astronomical record, covering a very lengthened period. The number of books destroyed by the Macedonian must have been large. The works attributed to Zoroastres amount to twenty-one treatises on religious observances and morals. Of these only nine now remain, chiefly fragmentary. The Zend-Avesta comprising the system of Zoroastrian theology and devotion, must have existed in a large number of copies. Indeed, the copying of books has been a trade ever since books in any form were known, and works on devotion have always commanded a ready sale. From the invasion of Alexander, Zoroastrianism sank into obscurity until A. D. 226, when it was revived by Ardeshir probably as a national bulwark against Christianity. At this period collections of books were again formed from the few copies that yet remained, and Zoroastrianism flourished until the invasion of the Arabs. This period produced some great sovereigns who struck terror into the Roman empire, and greatly assisted toward its destruction. Notwithstanding the effects of confusion and almost anarchy, the Persian strength was able to defeat the Mohamedan invaders twice; but at Nahavend, in A. D. 641, the invading Saracens were completely victorious, the Persian monarch Yezdijerd being obliged to flee. The fugitive was murdered by a miller at Marv, in whose mill he had taken refuge. The dynasty of the Sassanides and the Magian religion fell together. The Saracens under an influence similar to that of Alexander, diligently hunted for Persian books, and destroyed them all through the land. So thoroughly was the work done that the Persians possess now scarcely a wreck of their ancient literature.

Learned controversies have sprung up concerning the genuineness of the Zend-Avesta ; but the laborious effort required to produce a verdict in its favor proves how effectually its life was destroyed. From the nature of the case the literature of the Persian Empire was co-extensive with its religion. Now there is scarcely a trace of either. A remnant of Parsee fire worshippers survives under a Christian dominion in a foreign land. These people retain the marked features and characteristics of their ancestors, and exhibit Asiatic craft and shrewdness in a very respectable form. The Zend-Avesta was the Persian Bible and Service Book combined. A well known hymn in the Church of England liturgy recalls the objects which constituted the principal features of Zoroastrian cherubic adoration.

CHINA

Every nation has been, at some period of its history, divided among a number of petty sovereigns, and each has found its hero, to combine or re-combine the different portions into one empire. In the case of China this hero in the third century before Christ, was Chung Wang,

Chung who succeeded Chwang Seang Wang, and
Wang. was said to have been a substituted child.

A succession of weak rulers had resulted in the asserted independence of several states. Chwang Seang Wang marched first against the prince of Guei, and gained several battles. The other princes being alarmed, formed a confederacy, and the princes of Han, Tson, Yen, Tchao, and Tsi joined the prince of Guei.

The allies defeated the emperor. But they soon afterward quarreled among themselves, and Chung Wang defeated them in succession, and put them to death, with the males of their families, except the prince of Tsi who was shut up in a grave, and starved himself to death.

Chung Wang adopted the title of Tsin-Chi-Hoang-Ti, or First Sovereign of the Tsins. His success naturally created domestic enemies, especially among the numerous literati, whose credit and pecuniary advantages depended on the maintenance of ancient tastes and immobile customs. They formed a powerful influence, and their boldness of speech inherited from antiquity, and commanding the full assent of the population, grew into insolent invective against the victorious prince. The praises of the ancient kings were rendered offensive themes for invidious comparison; but Chung Wang was not the person to be trifled with. In order to break the power of the opposing faction, and as it is said, destroy the traditions of former institutions, he collected all the books called "King," and the works of Confucius that could be discovered in the empire, and destroyed them, B. C. 228. Works on architecture and medicine were excepted from the general destruction, as the emperor regarded the practical arts, including that of agriculture, as the only ones beneficial; all others being considered by him an encouragement to idleness and dangerous to the state. The imperial decree was executed by the governors with the utmost rigor; and whenever the literati were found in possession of prohibited books they were put to death. This sovereign attempted to secure his empire against foes from without as well as enemies from within. Under his general—Moung-tien the great wall of circumvallation was completed; and the system of defence begun in portions by his predecessors was

erected into a continuous fortification. This event established the practice of wall-building afterward carried out in various places by Roman emperors. Chinese, Arab and Jewish ships maintained an association between the empires of Rome and China; and the port of Aden, attacked and destroyed in wantonness by Trajan's fleet, formed one of the most important entrepôts between the two nations.

Chung Wang's motives were purely political. The Chinese never possessed a religion in the European sense of the term; and even the writings of Confucius and Mencius were moral essays that may be classed as belles lettres. Their charm consists in the extreme ingenuity of the maxims. The Chinese have never developed a thelogy, and religious bigotry has never assumed with them a form that would create a feeling similar to that which destroyed religious books in more recent times. The security of their empire has ever been the governing motive with Chinese rulers, and they have never spared a religion which menaced it. It is to this great principle that the wonderful longevity of China must be attributed. The practically useful has never in China been subordinate to the sentimentally sensuous, and imaginative in dogma and ceremony; and societies that claim to be more civilized and polite have, during many centuries, demonstrated their great inferiority to the Chinese in that respect.

JERUSALEM

During some centuries the chief libraries of the Jews consisted of repetitions of the books of the Old Testament in cities and private houses. The book now known as the

Old Testament is not in fact a single volume at all. It is a fragmentary compilation of the old literature of the Jews, lost at the captivity. As property, these volumes, more strictly speaking, rolls, underwent the changing fate of the different tribes. When the ten tribes were driven away into captivity, and dispersed "through the cities of the Medes" not only their literature but their identity as a people perished. The two remaining tribes still retained their books, although probably the sacred copies in the temple shared the lot of the other furniture of the place. So completely did their books depart from the hands of the Jews that their written characters were altered on their return. They were no longer the pure Phœnician that they had been, closely resembling if not identical with the old Greek, but were enlarged, complicated, and modified on the model somewhat of the combinations forming the cuneiform writing of Assyria. It was neither Phœnician, nor cuneiform, and was without points. Nehemiah or Ezra collected the substance of these books on the return from Babylon, largely if not chiefly from the memory of the old men and added many details of his own proceedings that formed an addition to the other books.

Certain it is that the revived Jewish nation possessed stores of books, renewing their ancient theocracy, and their temple customs; but they were also largely influenced by the literature of the Greeks, and exhibited some signs of being tinged with orientalism that had percolated from India. Association with Greeks after Alexander's conquests, and with Asiatics at Alexandria necessarily spread some Vedic ideas and Puranic mythology among them. Still the temple sacrifices and the chief features of Jewish ceremonial were their own. A taste for simpler ethical instruction became developed in the synagogues,

and through them was developed still further in the teachings of Jesus Christ. Books of the law were universally read and formed the basis of the national creed.

Alexander's officers were not all free from the spirit that animated himself,—the destructive tendency that seeks to perpetuate conquest by annihilating the civilization of the vanquished. Antiochus in Syria inherited this disposition, and exhibited it in all its grossness.

Antiochus. This prince—Antiochus Epiphanes, son of Antiochus the great, who usurped the kingdom to the exclusion of his elder brother, earned for himself the title of Epimanes, or the madman, from the fury of his depredations. First he invaded Egypt with a strong fleet and army; and as the army of Ptolemy was probably of the same material that fled at Tel-el-Kebir, and screamed in the Soudan, Antiochus wasted the country and carried away immense plunder. “He went up,” subsequently, “to Jerusalem, with a great multitude, and he proudly entered into the sanctuary, and took away the gold altar, and the candlestick of light, and all the vessels, and the table of shewbread, and the cups, and the flagons, and the mortars of gold. And he took the silver and the gold, and the precious vessels, and the hidden treasures, and departed into his own country,” as we find in first book of Maccabees. Two years afterward Antiochus came again. Jerusalem was furiously assailed and pillaged and burned, “and he took the spoils of the city, and burned it with fire, and threw down the houses thereof, and the walls thereof round about.” Peremptory orders were also issued to suppress the Jewish ceremonial all through Judea. Holocausts, and atonements, and sacrifices were sternly prohibited. The Sabbath and festival days were abolished.

Heathen altars were built, and swine's flesh offered on the altar of the temple. "The abomination of desolation" was set up, and all the people ordered to sacrifice to idols under severe penalties. "They built altars throughout all the cities of Judea; and they burnt incense and sacrificed at the doors of the houses and in the streets; and they cut in pieces and burnt with fire the books of the law of God. And every one with whom the books of the testament of the Lord were found, and whosoever observed the law of the Lord they put to death, according to the edict of the king."

Subsequent ages exhibited very many dreadful instances of similar crime and folly. The violence of Antiochus continued "Month after month", until the land was desolate. After the rehabilitation of the temple by the Maccabees, and the revival of Jewish independence, books again multiplied. What has been called the Academy of Jerusalem was composed of four hundred and fifty synagogues, or colleges, distributed through the country; and each certainly possessed a library. Every Jew had likewise his own books, and many were learned men. Tiberias was famous for its school. Perhaps, however, it ought to be stated that Joshua himself the great Jewish leader had long before set an example to Antiochus, and the rest of mankind in the obliteration of a tribal—if not a national literature. "And going up from thence (Hebron) he came to the inhabitants of Dahir, which before was called Cariath Sephir—that is to say the "City of Letters." And Caleb said, He that shall smite Cariath Sephir and take it, I will give him Axa my daughter to wife, and Othniel, the son of Cenez, the younger brother of Caleb took it, and he gave him Axa his daughter to wife." Joshua was commander-in-chief, and must be held responsible for his men. This "City

of Letters" was probably the depository of the archives. Its destruction is the earliest instance of the martyrdom of literature that is recorded.

GREECE

Athens had long been the centre of philosophic subtlety. Her schools have transmitted to this day the concentrated illumination of human speculative learning. Her genius was always brilliant and sometimes profound. But her fearlessness in research and expression is the most valuable legacy bequeathed to us by Athenian philosophy. The reproach attached to human wisdom,—that of being inimical to faith and piety, included the schools of Athens during the early ages of Christianity. The philosophic spirit had lost its radiance, and depended on a weak reflection of previous brilliancy for whatever adumbrated light it shed. The schools of Athens were closed finally by Justinian at the opening of the sixth century, and the books scattered or destroyed. From that date the light of the world was largely dependent on a theology very dissimilar in its illuminating efforts to the one it had displaced. But a thousand years later Greek light shone out again over the world never to be extinguished; although vulgar ignorance and prejudice, stimulated by narrow and intolerant latinism, still attempt too often to banish its electric radiance from our schools of learning. In the seventh and eighth centuries a deep and dreadful literary darkness overspread the Roman earth. Contempt for secular learning became intensified into a fanaticism for its annihilation. The library of Constantinople

was finally burned and destroyed during the religious commotions which long distracted that city; but it would be difficult to fix the guilt on any one culprit. The fanatical zeal of the iconoclastic emperors gave authoritative force to evil influences widely at work under the instigation of superstitious venom, and no monument of learning or skill could resist the blind jury of the zealots of that age. From that period the literary activity of the Roman world sank into decrepitude. The intellect of the Greeks wasted its keenness on metaphysical abstractions, and was drowned in speculative puerilities that destroyed its manliness, and almost its human character.

The employment of men's faculties and tendencies in a rational direction, and in a manner calculated to add to the means of subsistence by utilizing the forces and accumulated wealth of nature, was violently checked and impeded, the progress of the human race in its mission to subdue the earth was outrageously repressed, one more arrested civilization was created, and the Empire sank into a lethargy from which it was once seriously aroused by the invasion of the Latin crusaders in A. D. 1204.

ROME PAGAN—AUGUSTUS

The sun of ancient literature reached its zenith during the reign of the emperor Augustus. The sciences of war, architecture, navigation, astronomy, poetry, history, and speculative philosophy in all its schools, had found magnificent expression. Greece, Egypt, Italy, were adorned by splendid monuments of learned genius. Libraries abounded. Philosophers, poets, statesmen, heroes, filled the world with grandeur appropriate to their

several pursuits. Augustus combined in his own person a large share of the statesmanship, and therefore of the philosophy of his age.

He encouraged learning and endeavored to govern its tendencies. The epicurean philosophy probably acquired most favor among the military class at Rome; but all scholarship was fully represented in the great city.

About B. C. 167 Paulus Æmilius carried to Rome a library from Macedonia. Asinius Pollio established another on Mount Aventine. Sulla conveyed to Rome the library of Apelicon the Teian. Lucullus made a large collection. Varro, Atticus and Cicero accumulated books. Augustus also founded the Octavian and Palatine public libraries. The latter had distinct collections of Greek and Latin—the former of these being the fashionable language. Every man of letters possessed a private library. To become an original author was to acquire immortality in the eyes of men. “Exegi monumentum ære perennius,” “I have reared a monument more permanent than bronze” was the proud exclamation of Horace; and he was right.

Augustus was head of the church, and in all probability despised much of the oracular literature which had previously been regarded with the highest veneration. The Sybilline books purchased by king Tarquinius Priscus were preserved by special duumvirs,—subsequently decemvirs, and quindecimvirs—in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. These offices had a pittance of a salary attached to them, and were no doubt conferred on the ravenous ward politicians, and mud manipulators of the time. These wretches must have been numerous, as the duumviri of centuries were multiplied to quindecimviri—fifteen men substituted for two—to gratify the greedy hunters for petty spoils in the first ward. When the

temple was destroyed by fire, B. C. 83, the Sybilline books perished. A new collection was made throughout Greece among the oracles in repute, and deposited in the new temple. As these books could be consulted only by special officers — for spot cash — and the general public entertained the same curiosity concerning the future, that has been the affliction of all ages, a supply of oracular books, containing receipts for foretelling events, was readily provided by the ingenious mediums of the time. Such books, in fact, abounded, and skill in announcing earthquakes and warts on babies, the throes of kingdoms and the woes of maidens, black-haired lovers, and bonanzas in oil, became cheap. Any liver-sick hypochondriac could procure a mind-cure for an obolus, or an as.

But Augustus in his character as guardian of education ordered diligent inquiry to be made for such works, and more than two thousand volumes were collected and burned at one time. The emperor probably felt that such compositions were likely to destroy the taste of the people for sound, practical knowledge. Whether his procedure was wisest in presence of the abounding literary research and tendency of the time may perhaps be doubted. He certainly was far from succeeding in his prohibitory law; for books of prophecy were always encountered by the first Christians, of which we have notable examples.

BEGINNING OF THE FOURTH CENTURY DIOCLETIAN

During the first three centuries of the Christian Church no spirit of destruction appears to have been excited against Christian books. For a long time literature was

not abundant among disciples, and the few books existing were either kept private or were not noticed. But as controversies grew up, and attacks were made on Christian doctrine and ceremonial, apologies were composed and published. Again treatises in assault on Christian principles were prepared by philosophers and again replied to. In this way books outside copies of the Scriptures multiplied. These Scriptures constituted the chief and in most cases the only literature of the Christians. Errors crept even into these; and some zealous presbyters exerted themselves to provide copies that were correct. Pamphulus, presbyter of Cæsarea was eminent in this respect. He established a school, and collected a library which seems to have been the first formal institution of that kind among the Christians. The books of Origen and the Septuagint formed a conspicuous portion of this collection, which probably included a copy of each of the treatises that had appeared in favor of the new creed. Books were not then regarded as the objects of vengeance by enemies. A. D. 300. In A. D. 303 an edict was obtained by Galerius Maximianus from Diocletian at Nicomedia, by which Christian temples were demolished, the sacred books committed to the flames, and professors were deprived of all civil rights and dignities. The motives for this proceeding attributed to Galerius are two fold; one suggested by Eusebius who is not a reliable writer, attributed the decree to Romulia mother of Galerius, who was offended at not being allowed to be present at the Eucharistic supper.

The Platonic philosophers are also censured as being constant viuperators of the Christians, and as charging them with corrupting the early faith. Political motives are also assigned as the reasons of the same decree. Galerius contemplated the assumption of sole imperial

authority; and the Christians were avowedly attached to the cause of Constantius Chlorus, and his son, Constantine, afterward called The Great.

Hence Galerius wished to annihilate the power of the Christians. During this persecution many suffered death rather than surrender their sacred books. Many others preferred to relinquish the books, but earned thereby the stigma of Traditors, or traitors. As these latter were charged with sacrilege by persons of greater constancy or in less temptation, probably the Scriptures constituted the chief treasures possessed by the one party and destroyed by the other. Diocletian was not at first disposed to cruelty. He consulted the oracle of Apollo at Miletus, the chief medium of the neighborhood. The response directed the extirpation of the Christians. Herein it was about as wise as any of our modern prophets. But even this inspiration, whose interested malevolence was obvious, did not incite the emperor to cruelty. His first decree directed a bloodless persecution. It was aimed against the temple of Nicomedia and the books contained in it. The refusal of the Christians to comply with the imperial order first turned the wrath of Diocletian against them. A.D. 304 the emperor issued a fourth edict under the irritation created by conflagrations in the palace of Nicomedia, and insurrections in Armenia and Syria, all of which were attributed to Christian malice. Bishops and ministers were imprisoned and required to sacrifice to Roman gods. Torture was now added to compel compliance. Streams of Christian blood flowed all through the empire except Gaul. Christian temples lay in ruins everywhere, and worship was suspended. The ministers were either slain, mutilated or banished. The church books were destroyed, together with church property of every de-

scription. At this critical period the flight of young Constantine from Nicomedia to his father in Britain, after the attempt of Galerius to assassinate him in 306, rescued the Christian religion, and literature eventually, from most imminent peril. So violent was the persecution that in addition to innumerable executions, and woundings, and maimings, and lacerations, in Phrygia, a whole city with all its inhabitants was burned to ashes because not one individual in it would offer sacrifice. The death of Galerius, A. D. 311 terminated the protracted miseries of the Christians in the eastern provinces.

THEODOSIUS—VALENTINIAN, A. D. 449.

PORPHYRY

Among the numerous treatises composed by independent thinkers to confront the facts and principles alleged in support of Christianity and to maintain a philosophical system on data selected from the old theosophy and the new, that of Porphyry, composed in Sicily in fifteen books, about A. D. 270, was one of the earliest and most conspicuous. Porphyry was a native of Tyre and born in A. D. 233. His education was commenced under Origen Presbyter at Cæsarea, and continued at Athens under Apollonius and Longinus. His principles developed into neo-platonism, and he became an author at the age of thirty-three. From Sicily Porphyry visited Carthage, and subsequently settled in Rome, where, like other learned and speculative men, he established a school. His efforts were highly appreciated by Senate and people.

No especial hostility was evinced towards his polemical writings until the dissensions concerning the doctrines of Arius created serious commotion. In fact doctrines had not become stereotyped into a fixed system anywhere. As soon as Theodosius the Great had defeated Goths and Ostrogoths, and concluded a favorable treaty with Maximus who had claimed imperial dignity in Britain, he found leisure to bestow attention on domestic affairs. Born a Spaniard and of a Christian family Theodosius deferred his baptism, according to the custom of the time, at least among imperial persons. His first edict, after his baptism at Thessalonica, announced in pompous language at once his alleged clemency, and his severe zeal against dissidents. Constantinople was at that time, and had long been the chief seat of Arianism. But Theodosius had been instructed in the principles of the opposing faction in the church. As soon as the campaign closed the Emperor entered Constantinople in state. The following day Damophilus the Arian bishop was summoned into the imperial presence, and permitted to accept the hard alternative of surrendering his palace, his office, and all the churches of the metropolis to his opponents, or embracing their tenets. Damophilus accepted exile on these conditions. The Arians, and Arianism were severely proscribed; and the same decree that condemned their doctrines, also denounced their books. The latter were not permitted to exist within the imperial jurisdiction. The writings of Porphyry believed to be productive of the Arian doctrine were included in the general condemnation, and consigned to the flames. What number of copies were destroyed during these proceedings cannot be known. The antagonists of Arius at once became supreme in Constantinople by the aid of imperial troops, although they

were only a fraction of the population. As their missionary brigandage was conducted by the same methods as that of the Portuguese in India, and many others since the time of Theodosius, and Bishop Gregory "sat upon bayonets", as many other bishops have done, we may be satisfied that Arian and Porphyrian books were not permitted to exist in any number. But Arianism spread, and was accepted by the Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Suevi, Vandals, Burgundians, and Lombards. As a tenet the distinguishing doctrine of Arius has been held by many eminent persons including the illustrious John Milton.

CONSTANTINE

THE ÆSCLEPIONS, BEFORE AND AFTER THE CHRISTIAN ERA

The adaptability of certain herbs to the alleviation of human ailments has occupied man's attention from a very early period of the race. As investigation into the properties of natural things became more extended, and intelligent, the science of medicine was more deeply studied by all nations. Medical schools were necessarily developed among the Greeks, and they were usually associated with the temples of Æsculapius. The sick resorted thither to seek relief at the shrine of the god, and the fame of the fane depended on the benevolent power of the deity. The priests studied medicine according to their light, and study led to improvement. The alleviation of disease became a serious branch of science, and at length formed the foundation of a learned profession separate from the priesthood. Gifts testified the

gratitude of patients, and as the temples were largely resorted to, they became at once hospitals and schools. Disease long continued to be associated with the belief in the anger of some god as its cause. This sentiment received a severe assault from the practical discoveries of Hippocrates, B. C. 400. A body of medicine was compiled by this illustrious man, which largely dispelled confidence in amulets and charms, and established the science of therapeutics on a rational basis of cause and effect. The duties of the physician became definitely separated from those of the priest. The *Æsclepiions* were thus indissolubly connected with scientific medicine, and medical schools not connected with temples were established, but retained the name of *Æsclepiions*. A long line of distinguished discoverers and professors succeeded Hippocrates; and the Greek world abounded in the literature of medicine and surgery. Aristotle himself kept a druggist's shop at Athens for a time.

The study and practice of medicine were nobly extended by the Jews, who established schools of learning all through the East after the fall of Jerusalem. Syria and Mesopotamia contained many such institutions, and distinguished writers and practitioners arose there. Human knowledge spread rapidly and widely, founded on the observed facts which constituted the world of which we form a part. From the Tigris to the Nile, Greeks and Jews cultivated the healing art with great success. As among ourselves, authorities differed on the efficacy of remedies in particular cases, and each school possessed special doctrines. Hippocrates founded a celebrated *Æsclepiion* in the island of Cos in the *Ægean* sea. His theories led to an examination of the course of diseases rather than their nature. He watched what he believed to be the fermentation of the humors

of the body; and his aim was to assist the operations of nature. An equally famous school flourished on the island of Cnidos. This institution inculcated more attention to symptoms, and avoided severe or depleting remedies. Very able men arose in those schools, and valuable medical works were written. The books composed in these schools, in all probability formed a portion, and not the least valuable portion of the great library at Alexandria.

But,—during the early centuries of our era a new spirit became very general. Human learning lost credit, and was decried; and confidence was transferred to unseen and unknowable mysteries, and supernatural influences. Science was first discredited, then condemned. The spiritual and the miraculous was substituted for the scientific in the alleviation of human ailments of the body, as well as woes of the mind. The priest again replaced the investigator. Bishops were believed to have acquired something of divine power over human flesh. The lingering association of philosophical and scientific studies with the old reverence for deities, in many minds, increased the growing aversion to science. Piety and belief were substituted for study and knowledge. Secular learning declined; and at length under Constantine, Valentinian, Valens, and Theodosius, the physical force of the empire was directed against the old system. The Scriptures were declared to contain all useful knowledge, and other studies were forbidden as dangerous to faith. Orthodox belief in Christian doctrines was supposed to supply all necessary elements of learning. Practical investigations in medicine and astronomy and other sciences became dangerous occupations from the social and political condemnation attached to them. The temples were closed, all sacrifices forbidden. Among

other establishments of a similar kind the Æsclepiion of Cnidos was destroyed by Constantine, and all the books therein consigned to the flames. Organizations were set on foot to supply the active charities connected with the Æsclepiions. Physicians were succeeded by ecclesiastics wholly ignorant of the healing art. The sick crowded to shrines as they had done to hospitals, and miracle cure, relic cure, faith cure, and a host of vain superstitions took the place of the medical skill of the old professors.

But a taste for scientific investigation is the balancing compensation for the tendency of men to flee to suggestions of feeling and of imagination, as well as the follies that produce disease or aggravate it. Science has never lost its champions and never can lose them. The claims of practical intellect will always assert themselves, although its champions have to bear a world of folly and superstition on their shoulders. The supreme triumph of scientific investigation abundantly testifies the necessity for it, as well as its divine institution in the essential relations between mind and body.

VALENTINE—VALENS, A. D. 350,

PHILOSOPHICAL BOOKS

Notwithstanding the rapid growth of the anti-scientific spirit described in the last section there still remained many philosophical schools in Rome in the fourth century. Teachers and collections of books were numerous. Great numbers of youths repaired to Rome for instruction. The city still held her name and her force. Divi-

nation, and a claim to the discovery of future events, by means of certain magical arts, still lingered in connection with the temple worship, and some of the old literature. The gods, however, were now denounced as demons by the advocates of the new regime, and their worship stigmatized as "a black art." Severe edicts for the repression of both were issued by Valentinian who was an orthodox, and Valens who was an Arian.

Youths were forbidden to remain in Rome for study after they reached the age of twenty-one. Philosophy, good as well as bad was sternly prohibited, first as magic and then as treason. Zeal took the place of knowledge, and unreasoning faith was substituted for demonstration. The methods of Euclid were abhorred. Mystery captivated the imagination; and the more transcendently unintelligible, and unknowable a fancy really was, the more it was deemed to be within the appreciation of men. The reign of imagination had begun. The intellectual sense of right and wrong thus became enlisted on the side of fancies, and the employment of reason in religion was denounced as a sin. The instruments of sin could not be tolerated; and accordingly books and manuscripts of every kind were condemned by edicts and popular phrenzy alike. Every work of literature in every form appertaining to secular subjects was ruthlessly committed to the flames.

The terror of an imperial proscription, and the savagery of Valentinian's temper were thoroughly felt. Not only the books themselves were forbidden, but the fact of possessing them became a capital offense. A single sentence in a volume might condemn it to the fire, and its owner to the emperor's bears. All through the eastern world men in terror burned their own libraries in order to escape the inquisitorial search of the imperial

sbirri. The number of books destroyed during these proceedings must have been incalculable. Learning and scientific and philosophical investigations had flourished during all the previous history of Greece and Rome, and their results were the delight and the pride of every household. Men and women, youths and maidens had always brightened their intellects by the acquisition of knowledge. Nearly eight hundred years had elapsed since Hippocrates gave a new impetus to intelligent observation of nature. The mental and material prosperity of the Roman world had been very great. Her knowledge made Rome a conqueror. Transcribers and copyists abounded. Every wealthy family employed at least one slave in the exclusive duty of copying books. Schools had been established all through the empire as a part of enlightened Roman policy. The activity and plasticity of mind thus created necessarily surrounded and gratified itself with literature. But now a dark and dreadful blight swept over mankind. After this age there is a great and sudden dearth of mental food. Books did not wholly disappear from the great cities, Rome or Athens, or Alexandria; but their number through the provinces was enormously decreased. The fall of an empire is the necessary, and therefore the inevitable result of an enforced emptiness of mind of its people.

LEO

CONSTANTINOPLE—THE UNIVERSITY
FOURTH CENTURY A.D.

Among the prominent public edifices constructed by Constantine the Great, to constitute and embellish his new city on the Bosphorus, a capitol, or school of learn-

ing was conspicuous. This academy was munificently provided with appliances for study. The eastern world was wealthy in literature, and the emperor was profuse in expenditure for his new seat of empire. Professors and copyists were paid liberally, and the library took rank among the foremost. Even a moderate acquaintance with a modern library will enable any reflecting person to recall the scenes that must have taken place day by day within the walls of a Roman college. Readers, borrowers, and investigators, in flowing and classic garb, succeeded each other; and a taste at once for wholesome knowledge and elevating personal self-respect spread among the frequenters of the institution. A public library is at once a fruitful source of activity and sedateness of mind. Study evens the conduct and concentrates the faculties into definite lines of intellectual action. The wealth of the Roman world of literature was long represented in Constantinople. The original institution founded by Constantine was subsequently extended by Julian; and Constantius and Theodosius II. both added books. A president and twelve professors were provided; and the range of the curriculum rendered as broad as the circle of subjects studied by the philosophers and thinkers of the empire. The closing of other schools concentrated the remaining Greek literary culture at this college. In imitation of the pompous titles adopted from the east by civil and military officers, partly from pride and partly from policy, the president and professors attached to themselves sounding symbolic appellations. The president was "the sun of science," and the professors adopted each one of the signs of the zodiac as his symbol. A library containing nearly 40,000 volumes, although diminutive compared with the nobler one of the Serapeum, and perhaps others at Rome, was still respectable,

and as it was probably well selected, served a most useful purpose.

So long as the spirit of investigation into natural truth prevailed in home and hall, and men became more conversant with the facts of the world of which they formed a part, their reason was wholesomely exercised, although in that day not always wisely guided. But science, for the seeker of true knowledge, was the object, although allied with some perversions. The old fancies respecting gods, not always, however, as persons, but as prevailing influences and natural operations, and the taste of men for gazing into the future by spells and charms, and magic arts, were commingled with more rational inquiries. But the world was not without proofs of the triumphs of true over false science when choice of studies was left unimpeded. The asperity of religious contentions, among the numerous and rancorous Christian sects gradually diverted attention from ancient philosophy, and concentrated men's thoughts on supposed divine and supernatural revelations. Disputes respecting images led to further disorders, and spread to other subjects of polemics. The dignity of imperial foundation and of collegiate rank in no respect elevated the old literature in the great school of Constantinople, and was no defence and no apology in the eyes of zealots. Teachers and books were alike condemned, and in the reign of Leo the Isaurian the college and library were included in imperial proscription and partially burned. But the books were not wholly destroyed. A college and library existed at Constantinople for centuries. When paganism had been finally extirpated, and the schools of the philosophers closed, Greek studies were chiefly limited to this college, and the monasteries of the Greek communion. Ireland preserved her Greek literature later than any

other portion of Europe outside of Constantinople. It lingered also faintly in Bohemia until the close of the twelfth century.

ROME

GREGORY, STYLED THE GREAT, A. D. 590, 604.

The prelate here named was grandson of Pope Felix, and his parents, Gordianus and Sylvia were of senatorial rank. Roman senators had always in the great days of Rome, been distinguished for a love of practical knowledge on which the success of their statesmanship depended. Books, scholarship, grandeur and the supremacy resulting marked the administration of the Roman senate while it continued the ruling power. The spirit of Roman senators had changed under such Christian influences as were represented by the paganized form of that religion that had prevailed since Constantine, and had especially changed since the decorous time when Pope Felix ruled a household of his own wife and children after the example of the married apostle St. Peter. Gregory imbibed the ascetic views of a devotee. Participating to the most intense degree in the hatred of secular learning prevalent in his time, A. D. 590—604, Gregory gratified his hatred by a crusade against the classical and scientific literature still existing in Italy. The temples and statues first felt his iconoclastic vigor. Next, the Palatine library, founded as already mentioned by Augustus, and a splendid monument of the intellect and manhood that made Rome supreme, and which still contained a large proportion of the classical literature of the city, including many rare manuscripts was deliberately

burned by Gregory's order for the express purpose of extirpating the old learning. The writings of the historian Livy—the purest model of elegant Latin that ever adorned the imperial city, were the chief object of Gregory's iconoclastic and barbarous fanaticism. He dispatched messengers throughout Italy to search for and destroy all the classical books that could be discovered. It has been said of Gregory “that no lucid ray ever beamed upon his superstitious soul.” Italy was completely denuded of her books. From this period Roman authors disappeared, and many were obliterated for ever. In subsequent centuries a copy discovered with great difficulty here or there gave back to the world a treasure which had escaped Gregory's inquisition. Paul I, during the reign of Pepin in France sent a request to that prince for books if any could be found; and there were discovered an antiphonal, a grammar, and the works of one Dionysius, falsely called the Areopagite: a dismal remnant which proved by its paltriness and meanness the terrible success of Gregory's unchristian fury; the vast literature of philosophic Greece and imperial Rome effaced from the western world, and men left to grope in darkness almost as helpless as when they gathered limpets on the shores of the primeval sea. Gregory himself visited with severe displeasure a Christian presbyter who ventured to teach grammar, to read the poets, and utter the name of Jupiter, the pope therein copying the example of Julian who forbade Christians to study grammar, or rhetoric at all, on the ground, which was cynically logical, that if their treasure was laid up in heaven they had no need of the means of acquiring wealth or fame on earth; and as faith was of supreme importance, and knowledge needless, the latter might properly be dispensed with.

Gregory's own compositions are conceitedly ungrammatical; and the age of faith as distinguished from reason was fully matured by him. Yet Gregory was a man of talents and energy; and his example is an instance of the supremacy of the imagination over the practical faculties, and the inevitable ruin which always has resulted from that supremacy. The trust in the protective power of relics was completely substituted under Gregory for manly vigor of mind and body. Knowledge as the palladium of the country was despised; the flesh and the soul of Rome were gone, and there remained of her but a bleaching skeleton henceforward.

CONSTANTINOPLE—DIARBEEKIR—BAGDAD

THEODOSIUS II., CALIPHS, POPES.

5TH CENT. A.D. TO 18TH CENT. A.D.

Among the theological subtleties which agitated the fifth century, the most successful was that of Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, A. D. 428. Having been a partaker of the riches of Greek literature, and having imbibed some of its rationalistic spirit, Nestorius objected to the title "Mother of God" as applied to the Virgin Mary,—mother of Jesus and of his brothers and sisters. There is probability in the opinion that Nestorius was offended by the similarity, which sounded blasphemous, between the phrase "Mother of God," and the corresponding pagan phrase "Mother of the gods." This latter had been imported by the Romans from Asia during the second Punic war. Her festival—megalesia,—lasted six days, beginning April 4th. The bishop may

have anticipated scenes similar to those which marked this festival, where orgies became the sole occupation and devotion of the people. The difference in sense between the two phrases can scarcely be perceived. Nestorius was a strong learned man, and his persistency in opposing an objectionable phrase, involving doctrines that he abhorred, resulted in the assembling of the council of Ephesus, A. D. 431. Here Nestorius was, by trickery closely resembling that by which state senators are sometimes nominated in county conventions, which anticipate the hour, and nominate by acclamation when only one clique is present, condemned, deposed, and banished to an oasis in Lybia. Even in this lonely retreat no peace was allowed him. The barbarian Blemmyes invaded the remote spot, and Nestorius fled to the Thebaid. The Roman prefect of the district commanded his soldiers to drag the old man from place to place until death, apparently from sheer exhaustion ended his troubles. Comparing the conduct of the Roman officer with the well-known orders of Valentinian and other emperors, "beat him with clubs until he expires," the probability is that the secret orders were sent from Constantinople to effect the old man's death without actually and literally shedding blood. The palace intrigues which forestalled the condemnation of Nestorius, by anticipating the arrival of the Syrian bishops at the council of Ephesus, and were made effectual by liberal donations of gold to the chief eunuch, could be easily extended so as to reach Nestorius in his exile. Theodosius II. confirmed the decree of the council. The books composed by Nestorius were condemned to the flames, and the order was rigorously executed. But his opinions became widely disseminated. The Nestorians preached their doctrines with very great success in Syria, Mesopotamia,

Persia, Tartary, Bactria, Arabia, Ceylon, India, and extended their name and church to China. Their sect still exists in Asiatic Turkey, along the Tigris, and in the Kurdish mountains. They have patriarchs and presbyters. Their communities extended down the Red Sea to Socotra, Djidda, Aden, Ceylon, and the west coast of India, where a numerous body of Nestorians, still called Syrians, with a regular church organization still survives. Their chief seats in Mesopotamia were, in the fifth century at Edessa, and in the sixth at Nisibis, where very flourishing schools were established, and from whence issued a long series of very able writings. The school at Nisibis was the only theological school in Christendom in the sixth century. Edessa, the modern Urjah is the "Ur of the Chaldees"—birthplace of Abraham. It was a very ancient city, and in Roman times was an important arsenal. Nisibis—present Nisibeen—was also a strong Roman frontier fortress. It successfully resisted three sieges by the Persian Shapur, A. D. 338, 346 and 350, during the last of which bishop James, one of the fathers of the council of Nice, was in the city. Both places are now poor hamlets, and both places still contain Nestorian families—Jacobite and Armenian. There is an important church at Urjah. The residence of Job was in the same district.

Nestorianism became the ruling doctrine of Persia, and at Bagdad the community was very numerous. The caliphs of this city, however, on numerous occasions destroyed the books of the Nestorians, to the irreparable injury both of the country and of posterity.

The intimate association between the Nestorian Christians, and the inhabitants of Chaldæa, before the destroying hand of the Saracens wasted the land, and while much of the ancient literature still existed both in

cuneiform inscriptions and otherwise, together with the learning and inquiring spirit of the Nestorians especially in history, leave no doubt that the literature they accumulated, would now throw a broad beam of light on those ancient countries. The interest attaching to the origin of the influences which led up to Christianity would encircle that literature with a sacred character. Slowly and with a painful effort modern scholars now labor to restore some of the lost treasures from scattered fragments.

The Nestorian churches have not escaped the vigilant search and the persistent onslaught of modern Rome. In A. D. 1247 Innocent IV. sent an invitation to the Nestorian bishops to submit to Rome; but the refusal was intelligent, firm, and polite. When general communication with the East was again opened in a later age, missionaries from Rome continued to gain a footing among the Nestorians of Mesopotamia. In the middle of the seventeenth century two patriarchs presided over the Nestorian Church, one residing at Mosul, the other at Kochanes in Central Kurdistan. Great efforts were made to induce both of these dignitaries to submit to Rome. But physical force was not then and there available, and the bishops continued to exhibit their unshaken attachment to their ancient principles. At length in weariness of what was termed their obstinacy, the effect of creating divisions was tried. Innocent XI. appointed Yooseph patriarch at Diarbekir, A. D. 1681. This patriarch was not recognized by the Turks nor by the old Nestorians. But the influence of the office itself, with the aid of money and ceremonial, attracted the poor of Diarbekir, and many joined Rome. These persons have since been denominated Chaldeans. Intrigue produced dissension, and the absence of literature together

with the great poverty of the people overcame the constancy of the patriarch of Mosul, the Metrau Yohannan, or John, and many of the people along the Tigris followed his example, A. D. 1778. The poor people had resisted for a century. When the later missionaries first gained a footing in the neighborhood they employed their utmost efforts to destroy all books, and other records within their reach. The extensive library of Mosul, consisting of many thousand volumes, most if not all of them of priceless value was at the instigation of these Latins carried in baskets by the new proselytes to the Tigris, and thrown into that river. The disgrace of punishment by drowning,—fire being a sacred element, was thus presented to the popular mind, to intensify public feeling against a sacred literature thus maliciously and wantonly destroyed. This barbarous act, or series of acts, the long continued prostration of the country, and the poverty of the people, the decline of the Syriac language since the fifth century when it was still spoken in purity and elegance, the absence of copyists, and the feebleness of the entire Nestorian community, have been the fruitful causes of the decay of all knowledge in those regions.

But the destruction of the Mosul library did not complete the vandalism of the invading missionary banditti. Books found in the hamlets and cottages of the poorest villagers were industriously destroyed. Even the few manuscripts that remain are mutilated, or defaced. Many of these manuscripts were very ancient, and were intermingled with the literature of the earliest Christians. Every trace of ancient Nestorianism was laboriously blotted out, and its literature effaced. No effort has ever been made to supply the Nestorians with useful secular knowledge by the Latins. It is to be regretted that the efforts of others who have interested themselves in the

country have not always been directed to similar objects.

Still another chapter respecting the experiences of Nestorians and their libraries later in this work, will be of interest.

NICOLAS I., HONORIUS III., LEO IX.,

HENRY I. OF FRANCE,

SCOTUS ERIGENA,—9TH CENT. A. D.

On the continent of Europe learning had almost disappeared after the middle of the seventh century. In a few isolated and favored localities there were books, and the lamp of knowledge not only burned but was burnished up from time to time. Aladdin and his lamp survived but in obscurity. The Saracens were busy multiplying books, and establishing libraries in all their caliphates and chief seats, from Bagdad to Cordova, having imbibed the taste for science from the Greeks. In Constantinople there were some books, although literary genius was feeble and obscure. The brightest spot in the west was the small island known as Ierne, sometimes as Scotia, recently Ireland. The Scoti were the people of this island as known to early writers of our era. An Irishman was Scotus, and in one famous instance was additionally signalized as Erigena. A numerous colony had there preserved the Greek language, literature and philosophic taste; amid the throes of falling empires, and to a great extent beyond the reach of the revolutions that accompanied these changes. The most distant wave of eastern conquest broke on the shores of Britain,

The Greek language had long been the favorite, and the ecclesiastical language in Rome itself. It was from Africa that the revival of Latin took place, and very African Latin it was. The Christian colonies in Gaul and Britain, and Ireland received their origin and their light from Greek sources, and through a Greek medium. The schools established or revived by Charlemagne and Charles the Bald were quickened by Greek literature taught by Irish professors at a time when the great Charles could procure no other scholars capable of the task. Irish philosophers extended their speculations on Aristotelian philosophy to the utmost limits of boldness, and expressed themselves in the tone of men to whom the highest themes were habitual. While Italy was sunk in Cimmerian darkness through the fanatical ferocity and barbarism of Gregory bishop of Rome, and a host of subordinate priests equally vicious and ignorant, and the remainder of continental Europe hardly equalled the literary rank of savages, through the efforts of priest vandals everywhere, Irish scholars wrote with profundity and perspicuity on the highest and most abstruse questions of philosophy in the tongue derived by them from the countrymen of Aristotle and Plato, the only literary tongue known to the world at that time. Athens was indeed the true mother of Irish learning.

As soon as a measure of order had been restored to the western Roman world by Charlemagne, that sovereign although a man of rugged mould, endeavored to weld his populations together by the solder of a common education. Priests and people were sunk in equal and degrading ignorance. The case could not be otherwise, for books had been destroyed. Then Irish scholars ventured from their desks in their remote island, and were encouraged to make their presence and their acquirements

known. Among these, John the Irishman, or Erigena, was the most distinguished. He wrote Greek with the facility of a master who had long studied and taught among men where Greek was critically known. No one man could acquire perfection in that classical language independent of others to watch and to criticise him. His great work, of which the very title was Greek, "On the Division of Nature, or the Nature of Things," was a profound philosophical speculation. It conferred great distinction on the author, and his school and his country. His proficiency in the most advanced literature conferred on Erigena a distinguished place at the court of Charles the Bald, where he spent most of his learned life, A. D. 850. Being a philosopher who treated of theological subjects, Erigena expressed himself as a philosopher perspicuously. His distinguishing doctrine declared that the bread and wine in the Eucharist continued to be bread and wine, and were signs and representatives of the absent body of Christ. This Scotus, the philosopher, whom Roger Bacon lauded as the most faithful and perspicacious interpreter of Aristotle, and the preserver of the pure writings of the Stagyrice, was condemned at the council of Valencia in 855, in these words, canon iv.:—"We banish absolutely from the pious ears of the faithful, both as useless and injurious and contrary to the truth the four articles (capitula) adopted with little forethought by the council of our brethren, (the Council of Keersey), and the nineteen other articles very foolishly expressed in syllogisms wherein there does not shine any skill in secular literature, although some laud them for ability, and wherein we find rather an invention of the devil than an argument for the truth. By the authority of the Holy Spirit we forbid them universally, and we are of opinion that chastisement should be in-

flicted on those who introduce such novelties, that we may not have to strike them more rudely." In 859 the council of Langres repeated this condemnation.

In 865-867 Pope Nicolas I. dispatched a letter to Charles the Bald, the protector and patron of Erigena, and the illustrious friend of literature in France, in these terms: "It has been reported to our apostolic seat that a certain John, an Irishman by birth, has recently translated into Latin the work which the worthy Dionysius the Areopagite has composed in Greek on the divine titles of the celestial order. This book ought to have been according to custom, sent to us, and approved by our judgment; and so much the more as this John, although some boast of him as possessed of much knowledge, has not always, as they report on all sides, held sound views on certain subjects. We, therefore, very strongly recommend you to have the said John produced before our apostolic seat, or at least to no longer permit his residence at Paris, in the school of which he has long been the principal, so that he may no longer mix the tares with the wheat of the sacred word, and may not give poison to those who are seeking bread."

According to Matthew of Westminster, Erigena was compelled to retire to England. But French writers insist that he died in France before 877, the date of his patron's demise. A letter from Anastasius librarian at Rome about 876, speaking of John the Irishman as no longer living, seems to confirm this view.

When the Albigensian literary activity spread through southern France, the works of Erigena were widely known and popular, especially his work on "The Division of Nature," and his translation of Dionysius styled the Areopagite. It was then that Pope Honorius III. issued strict orders that search should be made in all

libraries for the MSS. of the great philosopher, and that all should be forwarded to Rome to be burned.

After the death of Erigena the controversy on the Eucharist created much contradictory speculation. The dispute continued unofficially settled for more than three centuries and a half. Two hundred years after Erigena another philosophic thinker, and a churchman became eminent, Berengarius Canon of Tours, and subsequently archdeacon of Angers, A. D. 1045. The opinion of Erigena on the Eucharist was resolutely maintained by Berengarius; but by that time great progress had been made in the acceptance of the new doctrine,—that the body of Christ was actually present, blood, bones and divinity in the Eucharist. Berengarius was accordingly opposed by some in Germany and France. His opinion was supposed to have been derived from the works of Erigena; and accordingly Pope Leo IX. condemned that celebrated book to the flames. The council of Paris and Henry I. of France concurred, and severe threats were published against Berengarius and all his adherents, who were numerous. A. D. 1050. Erigena had also written a tract on the Eucharist in answer to one by Ratramm, who wrote in favor of the real presence. This and many others of his works are lost. In other words the decree of pope Leo IX. condemning Erigena's book was practically extended to all his books, although his great work was not entirely extirpated by the barbarous decree of Leo. It is still extant. That a work produced by so refined and profound a master as Erigena should be viciously destroyed by a professed scholar is a sad proof of the force of fanaticism. The world is never the wiser for the loss of books. The opinions of Berengarius, as they had been derived by him from antiquity unbroken,

among others from Leutheric bishop of Sens, in 1004, were by him bequeathed to a line of successors to the present day.

CONSTANTINOPLE

PHOTIUS, LEO THE PHILOSOPHER

NICHOLAS I.—9TH CENT. A. D.

Photius, elevated rapidly to the see of Constantinople, was the most learned man of his day—A.D. 852. Ignatius the preceding metropolitan, had negotiated with Rome, after his deposition on a charge of treason. He sought the aid of pope Nicholas I. in 862: and the latter declared Photius and his adherents unworthy of Christian communion. Rome had long endeavored to acquire pontifical supremacy over the Greek provinces of Illyricum, Macedonia, Epirus, Achaia, Thessaly and Sicily. These attempts were aided by Ignatius. Photius being a patriot and a statesman resisted. Basil the Macedonian, a parricide, usurped the throne of Constantinople; and to strengthen himself, sought the aid of Rome, and recalled Ignatius. A council at Constantinople A. D. 869, confirmed these proceedings, as Hadrian II. the Roman pope had controlling influence. Ignatius died in 878, and Photius was restored. Pope John VIII. disregarded all alleged heresies on condition that Bulgaria should be conceded to Rome. This province being an integral portion of the Greek empire, geographically, and by doctrine and discipline within the jurisdiction of Constantinople, the claim was refused. But the wily Greeks temporized until the council of Constantinople

in 879, was accepted by the pope and all its decrees confirmed. Then resistance began. Bulgaria was retained. The pope was furious. Photius was again excommunicated. The legate was imprisoned, but was released and subsequently became pope, A. D. 886. Leo, son of Basil, again deposed Photius and exiled him to Armenia. The works of Photius were publicly burned. But they were not completely destroyed. Many of them, and especially his *Bibliotheca*, an analysis of 280 Greek writers, evince the learned research of the author. Photius charged the Latins with unchristian practices and doctrines; and his resistance to Rome consummated the separation between the Greek and Latin churches.

TURIN

CLAUDIUS, A. D. 839.—THE JESUITS

One of the constellation of great men who illuminated the ninth century, and preserved the ancient independence of human judgment and reason in religious matters, was Claudius bishop of Turin. His life is so well known and has been so frequently referred to, that only brief notice is required here.

The promotion of image worship found in Claudius a vigorous opponent. Inheriting much of the reasoning temper then prevalent in Spain where he had been brought up, Claudius transferred the same tone of mind to his active ministrations at Turin. Not content with removing images and pictures Claudius set aside even the crosses that had become objects of religious adoration, and superstitious devotion. He was a skilful and prolific writer, and so great was the effect of his

ministry that it left traces, never to be effaced, in the mountain valleys of his diocese. Here, removed from the ordinary contentions of the age, the hardy shepherds and mountaineers preserved the simplicity inculcated by the learned bishop. These people constituted no separate community, and were recognized by no distinctive appellation beyond the ordinary one of the men of the valleys. They attracted no attention because there were no heresiarchs among them. They lived on, the simple lives that their fathers had lived, and they were not reached by the innovations pompously set up in cities. But it is a remarkable fact that as soon as sentiments similar to theirs grew up, or were revived elsewhere, the professors of these reformed views always sped to the valleys; where they knew that a people in sympathy with them still dwelt. Their simple, primitive doctrines attracted kindred spirits, although there had never been any announcement of a separation, and none was contemplated. The Wodoys, or Vaudes, were titles widely known long before the poor man of Lyons established "Waldenses", as the name of a sect. Indeed there is much reason to believe that Peter of Lyons rather acquired his title of Waldus from the Vaudes, than they from him. The tendency to invent a personal name to account for the title of a tribe was universal in the days before exegetical criticism. The proceedings of Claudius were of a sounding character, and attracted both attention and anger among ecclesiastics. His iconoclastic reformation was not wrought in a corner. His diocese was filled with the noise of it; and it is in retired country places that changes of this radical character will find most acceptance. Image worship was not indigenous in the Christian Church, and the little flocks in the valleys were most primitive. Claudius was the Chalmers of his

day, and beyond peradventure the highlanders of his diocese were gladdened by his apostolic preaching. He taught the essentials to his distant congregations, and they retained them as being consistent with primitive custom, and without the fantastic accessories that gradually became fashionable. The claims of the Vaudois to apostolic antiquity and purity are well founded, as well by the traditions of the valleys as by the nature of their position itself. That Claudius was and is regarded as a writer whose works reflect the gleam of Protestantism may be gathered from the dreadful imprisonment inflicted on his books. He wrote much and well; but while the prefaces of many of his treatises have been permitted to see the light, the body of the works themselves has been carefully suppressed. We have the preface and the conclusion of his work on Leviticus, only in 1752, was his commentary on the book of Kings published complete, of the work on Matthew, of the Epistles of Paul, on Romans—Ephesians, on the Epistle to Philemon, on the reading of the gospel based on Matthew viii. 1–13, xi. 25–29, xx. 1–16, and on Romans viii. 1–27, only the preface has in each case been permitted to see the light. The manuscripts are stated to be retained in the Jesuit library in Paris. The fact would be difficult to establish without free access to that library; and such access is probably not procurable. Possibly some of the manuscripts may be in other libraries. But it was as easy to permit the entire work as the preface to see the day. It is not likely that in each case the effect of time spared the preface by special providence. Let the works of Claudius be rescued from the persecution of perpetual imprisonment. The manuscript of the work on Leviticus was in the Monastery of Bobbio in 1461, and still earlier Dungal used a complete codex describing the volume as a large

tome. So far as the sentiments of Claudius can be gathered from the fragments that are published, they formed if not the foundation, certainly an elaborate confirmation of the Waldensian doctrine, and are reproduced almost verbatim in the Nobla Lecon, the Confession of Faith of the Waldensian Church. See Gieseler II., 272-4.

COUNCIL OF SOISSONS A. D. 1121

ABELARD

Who has not heard of Abelard the philosophical and theological lecturer of the twelfth century?

Born of noble parentage near Nantes, A. D. 1092, Abelard became early proficient in such literature as his age possessed. His brilliant intellect enabled him to surpass in popular estimation the illustrious William of Champeaux, who had long been regarded as the foremost light in the literary firmament, and had conferred great honor on his country. Abelard was restless and ambitious; and he established himself first at Melun, subsequently at Corbeil, and at last at Paris. Wherever he lectured, his school was thronged with students, as eager to hear, to have the reputation of studying under a new professor,—the newest edition,—as to acquire knowledge in that age as at any time since. Even in those things there is a fashion and a style. Abelard, however, in common phraseology, “went up like a rocket but came down like the stick.” His fine presence, youth, eloquence and fame gained for him especial notice from the ladies, many of whom constantly attended his prelections. In such circumstances love-making is extremely natural.

People cannot help it. Abelard's especially bright pupil Heloise attracted the vivacious professor's attention; and when two young persons are charmed by each other, as Abelard and Heloise were, the love of man and woman will certainly follow. Mutual esteem and tenderness of heart perfectly well known and fully avowed on both sides, will result in marital union, with formal marriage or without it. That is what the tenderness of heart is for. Heloise bore Abelard a son, and like an honorable man caught between two difficulties, he repaired as best he could the wrong caused by himself, leaving the other and greater wrong done to Heloise as well as to him by the monstrous tyranny of celibate vows to be repaired by those who were, at the bar of the high court of human nature, guilty of compassing evils of precisely that character. Here Abelard's misfortunes began. The wrath of the ecclesiastical world was intense, and displayed itself toward him in the severest forms. If he had not married Heloise the scandal could have been hushed. He might even have enjoyed her society, as many if not most of the bishops and priests of his time did enjoy the society of chosen women. A leman was permissible; but an honorable wife was an abhorrence. The practical sense of the public, however, was more just than the priests, as it always is. Abelard resumed his lectures. But a preacher caught in a liaison of that kind loses his power from a sense of personal shame. He retired to the monastery of the Paraclete which he had founded. This establishment was in a short time surrendered to Heloise, and Abelard became abbot of St. Gildas de Ruys. Although himself honorably interned, his work "Theology" involved him in a charge of heresy, and the book was condemned to the flames by the council of Soissons, A. D. 1121. This book must have contained

something good and independent. Abelard was a philosopher; but philosophy however wholesome was an abhorrence to the ecclesiastics of that age.

ENGLAND—THE DANES

9TH AND 10TH CENT.

It is proper here to notice the ravages committed by the Danes in the North of England during the ninth and tenth centuries. These Scandinavian marauders, who, although generally known under the name of Danes were really Northmen from several districts, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Schleswig and Holstein, did not direct their assaults especially against books. They destroyed their enemies' fortresses, which in that age the monasteries were considered to be, and often really were. York was already famous for its supply of books largely in consequence of its connection with Irish schools. It was from York that Alcuin received his stores of books for the enlightenment of the French youth of Tours committed to his care by Charlemagne. The Benedictine houses of Wearmouth and Jarrow were founded about 672, by Benedict Biscop. This abbot made several journeys to Rome to procure books, and returned on each occasion with a good supply. But at that date there were few theological works in Latin, and a large proportion of the works brought over by Biscop were Greek, as Greek had for centuries continued to be the Biblical, theological and vernacular religious language of Rome. After the two houses had been completed, Biscop procured a still larger supply of books, and on his death-bed,

—690—he might well speak of the “most noble and rich library which he had brought from Rome.” Beda, successor of Biscop, was the last of a line of industrious monks. After his time lethargy and laziness seized the occupants of the monasteries, “every monk being lazier than his predecessor.”

It is possible that the hostile incursions to which the northern counties were subject, and which called into official existence the Se-wards of Alfred, some of whose earth fortresses may still be seen on the Northumbrian coast, created such insecurity as destroyed that quiet and sense of repose which is favorable for study. Certain it is, that both Wearmouth and Jarrow were repeatedly destroyed, especially in 867, and again in 973. The libraries accumulated by Biscop were necessarily included in the general ruin. The abbey of “Streonshalh,” founded by Oswy, King of Northumberland, afterward named Whitby, was well supplied with books. But like other houses of the kind, it endured much outrage; and with many others was almost totally obliterated. But these violences were not a portion of a deliberate war on books or literature as such. To enumerate all the instances wherein private property of that kind was laid waste by the ravages of war would obviously be impossible. These events are recorded here as having a very depressing effect on the diffusion of education in England for a long time.

SWEDEN

RUNIC RECORDS FROM B. C. TO 17TH CENT. A. D.

KING OLAUS

The Swedes are generally regarded as a Gothic people whose ancestral homes were situated about the Black Sea, and Sea of Azov. One branch of a wandering Gothic

tribe occupied the northern coasts of the Baltic, and another peopled Southern Sweden, Skane, Holland, Bleking, the Danish islands, and the northern portion of the Jutland peninsula. The Asiatic people in general were known to the ancients of the West under the broad title of Scythians, Skuthæ. They were a pastoral race who were thus denominated, as the more settled orientals were not well known. In their migrations they transferred their entire property from place to place; and when a tribe marched, women, children, and cattle all travelled together to the new abode. Many of these Scythian migrations took place throughout Europe, and the name of Scythians has been dimly associated with some western tribes, and is preserved still in the Scoti of the northwest. Branches of this great family occupy several of the most important countries of Europe. It is most probable that the islands of the west and northwest were at least partly occupied by portions of the Scythian migrations before the arrival of the Kelts, or Gauls.

During their journeys they acquired a description of writing somewhat resembling the most primitive Phœnician. It was alphabetical in character, and consisted of sixteen arbitrary signs. These signs had in all probability descended, by the usual method of the omission of certain lines, from the picture writing of the Egyptians. It was rude, imperfect, and in the superstitious minds of the wanderers was thought to conceal mysterious virtue. Certainly the priests made use of the occult power, contained in these strange marks to communicate thoughts, for the purpose of attaching superhuman knowledge to their own assumptions. These Runes, as they were called, were used not only by the settlers in Sweden but by many other tribes elsewhere. The meaning of the word Rune—mystery—referred not only to the secret

signification of the marks themselves, but to the witchcrafts and enchantments, that were, superstitiously on one side, and craftily on the other associated with them. There were plain and artificial Runes, the latter called *Lourunes*, from *Lou*—secret; and the priests believed or at least asserted that by aid of them they were able to haunt a place, to blunt weapons, to control natural phenomena, guide lightning, cure diseases, etc., according to the usual claims of those whose profession is to extract money from credulity by appeals to the imagination. These *Lourunes* were engraved on daggers, rings, rudders of ships, and were supposed to possess talismanic power.

Runes were also employed for legitimate purposes, and were cut on wooden tablets, and thus employed in correspondence, and also for public records, genealogical tables, etc. The memories of famous men were inscribed in Runes on stones; and very many of these Rune stones have been dug up in Scandinavia. This *pelasgic* writing was engraved with copper on wood, bark and stone; and there are still traditions of public decrees being inscribed on bark through the absence of other material. This system of writing embodied the entire literature of the Swedish Goths, or *Suiones*, and was universally employed by them long anterior to the Christian era. Even as late as the fifth century of our reckoning it was known to the Anglo-Saxons, who admitted that they had received it from the North. Not only correspondence was carried on but poems, laws, books were composed in Runic. The celebrated "*Custom of Scania*" is written in Runes. More than fifteen hundred Runic stones have been discovered, all anterior to the age of Christianity in Sweden. The further from Germany the more common these Runic monuments become. Two hundred were

discovered in Sudermania, one hundred in the oriental Gothic character, eighty in Smoland, sixty-six in west Gothland, thirty in Scania, and a few in Norway and Denmark. Many also in Scotland; and some idols with Runic inscriptions in the duchy of Mecklenburg. These monuments are neither cinerary nor religious. They are strictly historical records, of families, war-like expeditions, and were not reared on tombs but near the highways. On one of these memorial slabs found in the seventeenth century is the following inscription:—"Frumund has raised this stone to the memory of Friseulf, "son of Brise. Brise was the son of Lin, and Lin the "son of Une. But Une was the son of Fak, and Fak "son of Sadur, who was the son of Barlaf; Barlaf was "the son of Drum, who was the son of Lanæser, son of "Fridrasif, and Fridrasif son of Une of Rimbo. Fris- "eulf's mother was Arwa, and Friseulf was a centurion "of the country. Frumend son of Friseulf has traced "these lines, and we have reared this stone turned to- "wards the north, on the rock of Bal."

Another Runic stone contains the following inscription still more interesting. It was found in the parish of Grand Mal, in Sudermania: "Inga has raised this stone "to the memory of Olof, his brother in arms, who sailed "toward the east and ended his life in the country of the "Lombards (Longobards)." Two of the most remarkable of these Rune stones are the two Jellingstones in southern Jutland, where it is supposed that the King Gorm the Old, and his queen Thyra Danebrod have their sepulture.

From the ninth to the eleventh century the struggles of Christianity for acceptance among the Scandinavians, and the efforts of German emperors to force it upon the people for purposes of conquest, filled Sweden, Den-

mark and Norway with confusion. The troubles thus occasioned, together with the piratical expeditions of the Northmen to England, Ireland and elsewhere, constituted the history of the period. Gorm the Old mentioned above was steadfastly determined to maintain the ancient faith. He was slain during a viking expedition in England, and is known as the founder of the Dannewerke, a great wall of earth and stone across Schleswig, intended to prevent incursions from Germany, A. D. 920.

Gradually the Scandinavian rulers adopted Christianity from policy or compulsion; and during the reign of Cnut in England the new faith was successfully introduced into Sweden under Olaf or Olaus Skotkonung, which seems to mean "Olaus king of the Scoti, or Scythæ." He was baptized by Sigfried, an Englishman, many of whom passed into Denmark and Sweden in that age, and acquired dignities and power. The new faith was also propagated in Norway under Olaf the Pious, who was so zealous in this undertaking, that with three hundred men he traversed the country and destroyed all heathen monuments. It was at this period that the effacement of the Runic literature was effected. As in other instances, the destruction was not complete. Sufficient was left to demonstrate the character of the old literature. The songs and records would now be extremely interesting not only from their contents, subjects and sentiments, but from their association with the primitive pelagic ancestors of Greece, and the first efforts of men in the great west to educate themselves out of barbarism.

The historic statement as to this destruction is here reproduced. The Runic books are said to have been committed to the flames by order of Olaus king of Sweden at the beginning of the eleventh century. This anecdote has been found by Eric Schroderus in an ancient

manuscript seen by him in 1637. It is there said that Olaus ascribing to the Runic language the difficulty which the Christian religion found in being introduced into his States, assembled in 1001, all the great men in his kingdom. In this assembly it was determined that the Roman characters should be substituted for the Runic, and that all books relating to idolatry should be burned. Unfortunately the greater part of those which contained the history and antiquities of the nation were sacrificed at the same time. It is presumed that the works of Jorunderus, Gessurus, of Schulemontanus, and of Alterus Magnus, then perished.

MAIMONIDES

SYNAGOGUES OF MONTPELLIER, BARCELONA, TOLEDO,
12TH CENT. A. D.

The Saracens rapidly advanced in scientific knowledge after they had established themselves in Mesopotamia, Africa, and Spain. They early imbibed a taste for Greek culture from the Nestorians and Jews, both of whom welcomed their invasion. So marked was the effect of Jewish and Nestorian active or passive assistance, that the Saracens always regarded both as their friends, and received them into high favor. The Nestorians were diligent and successful students of history and religious philosophy, and their schools were numerous and celebrated. The Jews of Alexandria became strongly imbued with the philosophy of Aristotle; and excelled in the study of natural science, and especially of medicine. During the early middle ages Jewish physicians were eagerly employed by European, and some Asiatic

princes. During the same period a taste for practical knowledge declined among the Christians; and ecclesiastics were even forbidden to become acquainted with medical knowledge. Hence Jews occupied the field thus left vacant and filled it most acceptably. The caliphs, on their part, spared no expense in obtaining translations of Greek works, and were careful to include the acquisition of books frequently in their treaties with other potentates. Very extensive libraries were thus accumulated by the caliphs at Bagdad, Seville, Cordova, Granada, and Cairo; and schools were attached to these establishments. The cities of Morocco, Fez, Toledo, Palermo, later Tarentum, Bari, Montpellier, Arles, Narbonne, Salerno, became seats of learning through the example and the influence of the Moors of Spain and Italy. While St. Augustine and other Christians taught that the earth was flat, and that it was heresy and impiety to assert that there could be inhabitants or crops on the other side, the Jews and Saracens taught geography by globes. The Greeks and Jews were perfectly familiar with the double source of the Nile, and the series of lakes from which it flows. They were also aware of the passage around Africa to India, even before the celebrated voyage of Nearchus from the Indus to the strait of Ormuz where he was triumphantly hailed by Alexander. The Jews had traded direct with India by way of Aden and Ceylon during the reign of Solomon; and that monarch obtained his ivory, apes, and peacocks from those regions where they are all native. This inquiring spirit of the Saracens lasted about five centuries; and surrounded the courts and reigns of the caliphs with imperishable glory. Jews, Christians and Saracens studied together in the schools of Spain, and owed much of the best of their education to the liberality, and breadth of spirit of the

Saracen rulers. At least one pope, Sylvester II. owed his elevation to the knowledge he obtained in Mahomedan seminaries, although his superior information was attributed to magic by the degraded ignorance of his own co-religionists. But the Mahomedan world has never been without aspirants to superior sanctity, and a Mahdi,—or Director, has been a frequent character in Mahomedan history. Africa has been the fruitful mother of such persons. One of these aspirants in the middle of the twelfth century,—Abu Abdilla Mahomed, assumed a life of austerity in Morocco, was surrounded by followers, established a dynasty in Africa and Spain known as the Almohades or Unitarians, and his descendants continued in power until the middle of the next century. The beginning of the reigns of this dynasty was signalized by a fanatical hostility to Jews and Christians at Cordova. Philsophizing Mahomedans also fell under the displeasure of the court which would tolerate only doctrinal wisdom, a spirit especially distinguishing the Wahabees of the present day. During the power of the Almoravides, Cordova continued celebrated as a seat of learning, but now there was reason to apprehend a change of tone to one less favorable to secular knowledge. Patronage of science depended exclusively on the individual favor of the monarch; but a fierce hatred of secular learning had taken possession of the multitude who viewed every man as an infidel who sought for natural science or knowledge of any kind outside the Koran.

Moses ben Maimon was born at Cordova, A. D. 1135, and his father was a prominent scholar.

But, under the new regime Jews found little favor and much hostility. Maimon and his son quitted the city. The elder died at Jerusalem, and the younger established himself at old Cairo, and eventually became physician to

the sultan Saladin. He was a man of very great ability and learning, and the author of many celebrated works. His "Guide to the Perplexed" is a philosophic attempt to reconcile reason with Judaism.

About the same period a change in the spirit of the Jewish mind,—these things are epidemic,—created a distaste for philosophy. Moses, named by the Greeks Maimonides, the title he is best known by, became unpopular, although he stood at the very head of Jewish teachers up to that time. A revolution of sentiment in favor of faith and against reason arose in the Jewish schools and synagogues. The South of France, as well as of Spain, at that period abounded in schools of learning, and polite and elegant literature. The cities of Languedoc were flourishing and happy. The Jewish communities at Montpellier, Barcelona and Toledo, through the influence of the change of sentiment, were scandalized at the philosophy of Maimonides; and the writings of "The Eagle of the Doctors," of the "Glory of the West," of "The Illuminator of the East," were in all those cities ignominiously committed to the flames. But this fanatical hatred of secular learning had become the rage; and the Jews under its influence committed an act which was un-Jewish. The Jews have regretted the bad precedent ever since.

CORDOVA

ALMANSUR —12TH CENT. A. D.

The white caliphate of Cordova was distinguished for learning and the spirit of research from its establishment. Al Hakim II. A. D. 961, was especially zealous in col-

lecting books. He employed transcribers and translators who were liberally paid; and learned men were invited and encouraged. His library, it is said, amounted to five hundred thousand volumes, the greater part of them superbly bound and illuminated. The subjects treated embraced every known branch of science and of taste. Astronomy attracted scholars even from Britain; chemistry and surgery were prosecuted with great diligence especially by the Jews. This dynasty continued to, A. D. 1031.

William I. of England has acquired fame by the Domesday Book, containing a register of all the estates in England. This work was inferior to the similar one executed in Spain by Al Hakem Almonstansur, about, A. D. 970. An account was therein taken of all the cities of 1st, 2d and 3d class; of villages, hamlets, forts, castles and farms subject to Moslem rule. William probably became acquainted with this system while taking the waters at Salerno in Sicily during his early manhood.

The Mahomedan mind became at length exclusively contemplative; and the taste for doctrinal subjects replaced the pursuit of practical knowledge. The Almoravides were displaced by the Almohades, as already stated, about A. D., 1123 and the growing change in the general sentiment became still more marked. The celebrated college at Cordova, called "The Academy of the Humanities"—a noble title from which the designation of general literature as "Literæ Humaniores" was derived by modern universities, lost much of its former esteem. This change had been greatly encouraged and aided by the Hajib Mahomed Almansor, who according to De Guignes, but not according to Conde, occupied the same relation to the son and successor of Hakim II. that Pepin had held in France. The young sovereign Hixim re-

mained secluded in his gardens and palaces, while the vigorous soldier Almansor extended the frontiers of Moslem rule by constant warfare. Being, however, practically a usurper, albeit a very eminent warrior, Almansor had need of popular support. He therefore placed himself at the head of the doctrinal or orthodox party. While poets and poetry, proverbs and occupations of that description were much encouraged, and Almansor's court was filled with men of genius, the tone of their writings was no longer guided by Greek influence. Almansor caused the libraries to be searched, and all books of a purely scientific and philosophical character were publicly burned or destroyed in cisterns. The Hajib was a constant visitor to the Aljamas or colleges, and the Medrissas or public schools. Here he would seat himself, and listen to the recitations, and he frequently conferred honors and prizes on meritorious pupils and teachers. By these means he knew where to procure learned and orthodox cadis, and readers and preachers for the mosques. All this apparently learned activity was shallow and evanescent. It fostered individual conceit and selfishness, created a spirit of division and dissension which rent the power of the Moslems into fragments, and rendered their expulsion possible to the Spaniards.

SASSAWA

SPITIGNEW, GREGORY VII., LATIN MONKS, 9TH TO 11TH
CENT. A. D.

The duty of converting the Slavonians who had settled to the east of Bavaria, to christianity was regarded, after the days of Charlemagne, as belonging to the bishop of

Passau, and the archbishop of Salzburg. At that period the eagerness of the Germans to extend their dominion over Slavonian countries had acquired great force as a result of the conquests of Charles. This eagerness became still more intensified in subsequent centuries, and was the source of great contentions secular and religious. The Slavonians resisted every German influence, as they had good reason to do. Attempts at conversion from that direction failed. Christianizing influences from Constantinople were more acceptable. German religion was regarded as a wedge to introduce German domination. During the reign of Wratislaw in Bohemia, two Greek missionaries, Cyril previously called Constantine, and Methodius arrived in Moravia. These good men had already labored in Bulgaria with success; they spoke the Slavonian language and were persons in every respect well adapted to their duties. They were dispatched into Moravia under the direction of the Emperor Michael III. They introduced the Greek Scriptures and formularies, and Constantine invented or improved a Slavonic alphabet, and translated the Bible into Slavonian. The efforts of these men in planting Christianity in Moravia were attended with great success. Their instruction was practical, and directed against immorality and vice, and was addressed to persons of all ages and classes alike. They opened schools, provided books, and acquired merited influence as pious moral reformers. Their system moreover coincided with the practical and matter of fact character of the people who had imbibed no tincture of philosophical speculation from any quarter. Disputes between Rome and Constantinople, and pressure from Germany where Methodius was denounced as a heretic,—the cry of heresy was often a cloak for political villainy and spoliation of property both at that time and since—

induced both teachers to proceed to Rome. The use of the Slavonian liturgy and with the greatest probability the employment of Greek phraseology in the creed—the procession of the Spirit from the Son not being even yet formulated by the Greeks, was made use of by the Germans to expel Methodius from his work. But Pope John VIII. was satisfied, and by a formal rescript Methodius who was now an archbishop, was permitted the use of the Slavonic liturgy.

For the language of this rescript see the section entitled Ximenes, Granada.

A German named Niching was made bishop of Neitra, and a subordinate of Methodius, really a spy upon him. He was known as the secret enemy of his Metropolitan, and the adversary of the Slavonian language, as all Germans were and are to this day. After the death of Methodius about A. D. 890, the Greek Slavonic clergy, that is the Moravian clergy who had imbibed Greek tenets, and employed the Greek forms, were expelled from Moravia, and the Slavonian language forbidden in the ritual.

About A. D. 871, Christianity was introduced into Bohemia, through the influence of Ludmila wife of duke Borziwoj, but was vigorously resisted, as it was still regarded by the people as a weapon in the hands of the Germans. Wherever it spread, however, Slavonian liturgical rituals were used, the population being steadfastly attached to their native tongue. This attachment became all the more persistent as the German bishops made constant efforts to suppress it. But the union of the reigning princes, the German power, and the Roman priests gradually substituted the Latin ritual. The old Slavonic lingered in a few places in Bohemia, but was nowhere forgotten. In 1063, duke Wratislaw, observing

how his dynasty was being duped through the subtle introduction of alien influences into his dukedom, earnestly requested permission for the restoration of the Slavonian. But Gregory VII. peremptorily refused. The convent of Sassawa founded in A. D. 1035, was the last refuge of the old ritual. In A. D. 1058, duke Spitignew was induced, by German influence, and complaints of heresy being taught under the guise of a native language, to remove the Greek monks from Sassawa and replace them with Latins. The community retired to Poland, amid the universal lamentation of the people. A. D. 1063, duke Wratislaw restored the brethren, who continued to reside in the monastery, and solemnize worship in the Slavonian until A. D. 1097. In that year the community were finally expelled from Sassawa, and their entire collection of books totally destroyed. By these harsh measures the Bohemians were rendered still more attached than before to their native tongue, which they have retained to the present day. Let it be added that, with their language they have also preserved a most bitter recollection of the treachery, violence, and wanton robberies they experienced in former days both in civil and religious affairs.

Bohemia will furnish other sections to this work; but the foregoing remarks will supply a key to the fiercely conservative national spirit displayed under Hus and Ziska of immortal memory.

An evasive attempt was made in the days of the emperor Charles IV. to conciliate the Bohemians by the concession of a ritual in the native language, used in the convent of Emaus near Prague. But this is not the liturgy of Sassawa. It is the Latin translated into the Slavonian, which is a very different thing.

METZ, COLOGNE, STRASBURG, LOMBERS,
ORVIETO, VITERBO, 12TH CENT. A. D.

During the entire course of the twelfth century remonstrances against certain doctrines and practices of Rome continued to be heard frequently all through Europe. A spirit of enquiry had found expression, and objections to her novelties and her arrogant dictation, to her robberies and selfishness, and her wanton misuse of ill gotten wealth, which had been heard in every century were loudly repeated. Along the highways of commerce these complaints were loudest and most frequent. Many of the cities retained yet their ancient constitution and customs; and the public mind still largely associated religion with general morals. The multitude, however, had become trained to a blind devotion to ceremonies and superstitions. Individuals, and small communities gradually drew around them adherents, and became distinguished locally for sentiments which those who held and taught them claimed to have been in the possession of men from the first days of the church; and to express the true doctrine which had recently been corrupted. Such persons became conspicuous in Flanders in A. D. 1115; Brittany 1148; France 1124 in many places; Treves 1115; Cologne 1146; England 1159; Lombers 1165; Toulouse 1178, and long previously as well as in many other cities of Languedoc; in Milan 1173, and earlier; in Spain 1194; at Metz 1199; Toul 1192; Narbonne 1190, and long previously; Orvieto 1199, where the adherents of the independent and ancient opinions as they were declared to be, formed a strong and determined body.

Gregory VII. had been no friend of independent opinions or practices. The advocates of the ancient doctrines preached and discussed their principles, and always quoted the New Testament, and sometimes the Old Testament also in support of their sentiments. They always possessed copies of the Scriptures usually in the popular language. Herein they became obnoxious to the condemnation of Gregory which was law to the church. Rome would not permit translations of the Scriptures to remain in the hands of the laity at all, and forbade all persons to retain such translations. Even service books in any language but Latin were forbidden to the clergy, and this law already in force was afterward formally promulgated in 1234. Hence one cause of the animosity excited by the independent preachers. These persons had the sacred books in the common tongue, and they quoted them in all their discourses. At first such persons were victims chiefly of the ignorant and fanatical populace who apprehended and murdered them in various ways, in accordance with the teaching they had received, and without any prohibition or remonstrance from priest or pope. The ecclesiastics next openly assumed the duty of punishment. The Sectaries, who had grown exceedingly numerous, and now commanded even popular respect in most cases, were seized by command of bishops and councils, and usually burned at the stake. In all such cases the property of the condemned was confiscated, and books never escaped. These scenes were enacted in every city where the preachers were apprehended. The city of Metz, A. D. 1200, was hideously distinguished by an act of double barbarism of that description. Certain persons denominated Wodoys in a statute of Toul A. D. 1192, a term corresponding with "Vaudes" of the Nobla Lecon, and of earlier origin than "Waldenses," were

apprehended and by the ecclesiastics cruelly burned. The books possessed by the unhappy victims are distinctly stated to have been burned also. These books were described as "translations from the Latin to the Roman" which meant the common speech of France. The words of the old chronicle deserve repetition in the original: "In urbe Metensi pullulante secta quæ dicitur "Valdensium, directi sunt quidam abbates ad prædicandum, qui quosdam libros de Latino in Romanum versos combusserunt, et prædictam sectam extirpaverunt." "In the city of Metz where a sect called that of the "Valdenses was becoming pestilent, certain preaching "friars received orders and they burned certain books "translated from the Latin to the Roman, and extirpated "the aforesaid sect." If this last boast be true the extirpation must have been on a terrible scale both as to persons and books. We learn from the writings of Pope Innocent III. that in Metz at that date "a great multitude of men and women induced by a longing for the Scriptures, had caused the Gospels, the epistles of Paul, the Psalms, the book of Job, and many other books to be translated into the French tongue" for use in their religious meetings. If the multitude was great, what must the holocaust have been if they were all exterminated!! The effect of these proceedings and others previously narrated, consisted in a dearth of books for a long time in each case. Literature could spring up only fitfully and at wide intervals.

PARIS

WILLIAM OF ST. AMOUR, JOACHIM, THE SPIRITUALIST
FRANCISCANS, ALEXANDER IV., UNIVERSITY OF
PARIS, 13TH CENT.

The thirteenth century was greatly agitated by three remarkable books. The origin of these works may be referred to the general indignation against the mendicant friars. A section of the Franciscans had early endeavored to have their rule of discipline relaxed; and they were gratified by Gregory IX. in 1231. But their opponents the Spirituals, under their general, John of Parma, stoutly resisted. This party was defeated for a time and Alexander IV. took sides with the laxer faction. During this hot dispute the Book of Joachim, called also the "Everlasting Gospel," which had been known during the century was brought into great prominence. It was a collection of prophesyings; foretold the destruction of the Roman Church, and the advent of a more perfect instruction in the gospel in the age of the Holy Spirit. The Spiritualists among the Franciscans eagerly accepted this book. In A. D. 1250, one of their number named Gerhard, wrote a special treatise, explanatory of the "Everlasting Gospel" and styled his composition an introduction to that work. We can learn the contents of this book only from enemies; and as all the sects of that time, their ceremonial and their literature have been persistently slandered, we cannot accept the account of this "Introduction", usually given, without suspicion. The book was formally noticed by the university of Paris on its publication in 1254. Alexander IV. forbade its circulation; the university persisted in its denunciations,

and the "Introduction" was publicly burned. As it excited the animosity of the very corrupt and profligate hierarchy of that time, and of the bigoted professors it must have contained much good.

In another book "The Perils of the Later Times" by William of St. Amour, a doctor of the Sorbonne, the Mendicant friars were attacked with severity. William of St. Amour was the most distinguished doctor of his time in the university. He was a native of the Jura in Franche Comtè. His portrait long remained engraved on a window of the Sorbonne; and was also placed before the title of his works printed at Constance, 1632. He published several treatises against the mendicants who were at war with the university. Two other of his treatises are "A Discourse on the Publican and the Pharisee"; and, "Inquiry concerning the Measure of Charity, and the Deserving Mendicant." The author of the "Perils" maintained that the perils of these later times mentioned by St. Paul 2 Tim. iii. i. were fulfilled in the multitude of friars. This book created consternation among the mendicant orders. The mendicants secured a chair at Paris in 1230, when the university had retired to Orleans and Angers,—the period they retained this chair—and the university had to contend with two orders of whom the principal philosopher was Albertus Magnus, and the logician was St. Thomas. To Thomas the task was assigned of combating William of St. Amour, and it was undertaken with deep misgiving. "*Cum prædicto volumini respondere fuisset prædicto doctori (Thomo) non sine singultu et lachrymis assignatum.*" "When it was necessary to reply to the aforesaid volume, it was assigned to the aforesaid doctor (Thomas) not without sobs and tears", De Thou; Life of Thomas.

The wrath of the Dominicans was fierce; and in 1256, Alexander IV. ordered the book to be publicly burned, and its author to quit France. The original work was completely destroyed. But William returned from his retreat in Franche Comté, and published another book explanatory of the former one. The Dominicans held William to be a heretic, and in 1633 a decree suppressing this second book was obtained from Louis XIII.

William's testimony against the corruptions and vices of the mendicants was the evidence of a contemporary and an eye-witness an able and an honest man. A fourth book alleged to have existed in the same age, "*De Tribus Impostoribus*", if it ever had any reality, has been so completely extirpated, that no trace of it remains; and grave men doubt, and interested persons at once assume that no such book ever existed. It was attributed, in the thirteenth century to Peter de Vineæ, the intrepid chancellor of the emperor Frederic II. and also to that monarch, himself, and others. It was declared to assert and maintain that the world had been deceived by three impostors, Moses, Mahomed, and Christ.

BEGHARDS

MONKS—INNOCENT III.—12TH AND 13TH CENT.

To enumerate all the instances wherein the sectaries variously named Beghards, Cathari, Wodoys, Vaudes, suffered all through Europe, and especially in France during the twelfth century would be tedious even if it were possible. The burnings of men and women were always accompanied by the burnings of their books.

The persons thus murdered numbered thousands, and men rejoiced in the sufferings and waste thus wantonly inflicted. During the entire course of this century earnest persons all through Europe continued to disseminate a literature more pure, as they claimed, more elevating and more consistent with reasonableness, good sense, and practical benefit to men than the theological fables, and empty delusive speculations that occupied the church. These persons still persistently asserted that even the means of salvation presented by ecclesiastics were more and more losing all spiritual character, and moral power, that the priesthood had grown coarse, degraded, and had lost all respect for morality, and that the rancorous contentions that were called learning were destroying all reason and impoverishing and ruining the people. A cry for liberty everywhere accompanied these complaints. The career of the church was marked by constant aggression and spoliation. It was acquiring all the real and personal wealth, while general poverty and misery, and the stagnation of trade affected the populations. Hence a demand for more spirituality in the church, and more liberty in temporal things frequently incurred the double enmity of priests and nobles; and the church easily persuaded the temporal princes that concessions to the popular demands were a submission to treason on one hand, and to heresy on the other. For these reasons the books, chiefly translations of portions of the Scriptures possessed and quoted by these reformers were always objects of animosity. So long as a demand for political enfranchisement was not heard then the nobles usually accepted the doctrines of the preachers as being generally beneficial to public prosperity; but wherever this assertion of a right to a share in government took form and strength, there the nobles sided with the

church in assertion of peculiar privileges, and for the defense of their great temporal possessions. Reforms in religion and in politics were frustrated, and washed out in blood on many occasions through the co-operation of noble and priest in this manner; and the same tendency is observable in England at the present time. The demand for a share in the land of the nation has always driven nobles to the church for shelter, and the church has always restrained popular movements and trampled them out in slaughter, where she could, in return for the support of kings and nobles, and the opportunity to trample on both when she got the mastery. When kings, nobles, and people accepted reforms together, the church and her cruelties and superstitions always were beaten and crushed. So mote it be. This wisdom had not dawned on any nation as a principle in the twelfth century.

Through the Netherlands, in Brittany, in Southern France, along the Rhine, in Germany, Italy, in England, in Dalmatia, Bosnia, in Poland and Hungary, in Moravia and Bohemia there were multitudes of persons who had retained the old Christian faith as they claimed, read the Scriptures, as they had always done, and now loudly protested against the paganizing corruptions that were rendering the church more distinctively Roman instead of Christian, and thus more powerful in pushing the aggressive ambition of Rome over all countries. The reformers were generally known under various titles; and they were specifically distinguished by various shades of theological speculation. But in every city they were assailed and murdered, and their literature destroyed. Theirs was the only literature generally distributed, and those who effaced it were never in a hurry to supply a better, or, indeed any literature whatever of a popular

and useful character. When Rome had succeeded in suppressing the books of the reformers there was an arid dearth of literature perfectly appalling. The public mind was left without instruction of a useful kind. Vast multitudes were thus reduced to blind ignorance of all means of turning their faculties to any account. Vagabondage, misery, robbery spread alarmingly; until at length hanging by hundreds was resorted to, by thousands in the course of a single reign, because, through darkness of ignorance the poor creatures could not direct their energies in any intelligent capacity. They had in fact no means of earning even the lowest subsistence. The destruction of books prostrated Europe. England before the Reformation, and Spain at the present time afford melancholy instances of great peoples pauperized degraded, and then insulted by their deceivers and oppressors, through the helplessness resulting from the destruction of books.

But the spirit of practical enquiry, and the pursuit of useful temporal knowledge could not be extirpated. Men have intellect and they will employ it to surround themselves and their families with the comforts, the refinements, and the luxuries of life. Those who win these things by honorable efforts are entitled to them. Protection in the enjoyment of them is for the benefit of all alike. After long and bloody struggles the freedom of literature has been secured by many, but there are many others who allow themselves to be robbed of it still.

CONSTANTINOPLE

THE LATIN CRUSADERS

The first crusade was the result of fanaticism and ignorance. Those subsequent were deliberately planned

by ecclesiastics, for the purpose of acquiring power and amassing wealth during the absence of princes and land-owners. So intense was the zeal of all men in that age that the dire impoverishment of kingdoms was not heeded; and two centuries of wild and wasteful expeditions to Palestine were needed to open the eyes of Europe to the real object of these crusades. With great difficulty Innocent III. effected his purpose of marshaling some adventurers against the Saracens. At this time, A. D. 1203, a civil contest in Constantinople induced one of the parties to apply to the Venetians for aid. These traders employed the crusaders as free lances to restore the fugitive Isaac Angelus. The soldiers of the cross accordingly furiously attacked and stormed the Christian city of Constantinople, A. D. 1203. The spirit of Roman jealousy and revenge was the governing force of their acts, and Constantinople was set on fire. Immense mischief was committed. Private property of the Greeks was everywhere destroyed, and thousands of books and manuscripts were burned. A second assault by the same fanatical brigands in 1204, was almost equally disastrous. The wanton destruction committed during this double inroad upon a Christian city was hailed with delight at Rome, which was not content with spreading devastation at home. Constantinople was grievously impoverished for ever afterward. The physical strength and moral spirit of the imperial city were broken. The crusaders established Mahomed II. on the throne of the Cæsars. But all this external brigandage caused money to flow in streams into the pockets of the Venetians, and the Roman ecclesiastics. During the same period merciless exactions impoverished and at length exasperated Europe. The indirect results of the crusades, however, in spreading independent thought, and creating broad

views of government and policy, civil and religious, although of incalculable benefit, were slow to relax the grasp acquired over the mind and wealth of Europe during their continuance.

LANGUEDOC

INNOCENT III.—SIMON DE MONTFORT
13TH CENT.

The story of the destruction of Toulouse, Carcassonne, Beziers, Albi, and other cities and towns, villages, castles, and hamlets throughout Southern France, during the memorable crusade ordered by pope Innocent III., and executed by Simon de Montfort, and the shocking barbarities perpetrated under these two men and their agents, A. D. 1215, need not be repeated here in detail.

Greek learning, philosophy and poetry had penetrated this entire region, partly through early associations and partly under the influence of Spain. Schools and books abounded. Medicine was extensively studied, and many eminent physicians were located in the cities of the region. Montpellier especially was distinguished for schools of law and medicine; and a spirit of investigation and enlightenment was diffused from this part of France to other countries. The school of Montpellier was of old foundation for philosophy and law; Jewish professors added that of medicine under the inspiration of the Arab schools of Spain. The country was prosperous and happy. But the spirit of fanatical bigotry had reached its culmination; the crusading spirit encouraged and educated physical violence on a large scale in aid of dogmas and furnished the hosts for the purpose. From being

the abode of peace, plenty and progress, Languedoc became suddenly a bloodstained ruin; her people massacred, her towns and castles destroyed, and the waste of wanton wickedness spread over her. All this was perpetrated by Frenchmen against Frenchmen at the bidding of a foreign barbarian. The scientific and literary genius of Languedoc was rooted out, the academies ruined, the books totally destroyed, and a remnant of fleeing wretches, the wreck of a flourishing population hunted into forests and deserts like wild beasts. The massacres of the Albigensians were not directed against heresy alone; they were aimed at the secular tendency toward the general diffusion of practical knowledge. At the beginning of the thirteenth century the principle that all knowledge not supernaturally revealed in the Scriptures was not only useless but mischievous, was avowed by all church authorities. To dispute this dogma was heresy deserving death. Whatever science was in the Bible was sufficient for mankind. The degradation of even medicine in the hands of the monks may be perceived from the remnants of their works that have come down to us. The mingling of puerile superstitions with remnants of old Greek knowledge, which constituted the whole medical pretenses of the time, are a proof of the general degradation. But Innocent III. and Simon de Montfort and many others, were resolved that the world should not learn better. The barbarities committed in Languedoc have never been equaled, both from the absence of provocation and the furious wickedness of their execution. They were approximated, however, in the Cevennes in a much more recent century. England had profound reason to regret the annihilation of Languedocian literature. "The importation of Provencal poetry in the shape

of Trouvere poems, romances, and fabliaux had a refining effect upon the literature, and laid the foundation of English chivalry." *Dub. Univ. Mag.* 68, 490.

BOOKS IN THE 13TH CENTURY

The general accessibility of books had been destroyed before the beginning of the century. That people were not then any less capable or disposed toward literature when left to their own choice, may be easily seen from the many instances all through Europe, where individuals and communities were found in possession of books which were burned as fast as discovered. A taste for literature is continuous in a nation, and comprehension of works of science is not possible to an ignorant population in a moment. European peoples generally had an appetite for knowledge and for books. "But only great kings, princes and prelates, universities and monasteries could have libraries; and the libraries of the greatest kings were not equal to those of many private gentlemen, or country clergymen of the present day." The popular appetite was fanatically and fiercely restrained, and its gratification persistently refused. Literature in the broad sense of the term did not exist, and was not allowed to exist in the church. The lawyers, then a rapidly increasing body both in numbers, talents and influence, merited the praise of sustaining the taste for literature outside the ordinary course of theology. The writing of books could not be popular; and the making of books depended more on art than literature. "Writers were no longer writers but painters," is the sarcasm of the Boulogne jurist Odofredi. Even law

books were gorgeously illuminated. During this century cotton paper came into general use; the establishment of universities created a market for copies, and a class of copyists as in old Roman days. But classic writings were often barbarously effaced in order to make room on a rare parchment for a foolish fable.

Petrarch's genius and literary taste and indefatigable energy restored much classical learning and brought many books back to light. Latin was known in many places but not generally even by scholars. The very tradition of Greek had been lost for a time. Virgil was studied, but he had passed from poet to philosopher, from philosopher to sybil, and thence to magician by successive transmutations, until at last he was regarded as an ancient saint, as the memory of his writings grew more dim. This process at length culminated in the famous phrase of Erasmus: "Holy Socrates pray for us." Ovid, Lucan, Horace, Juvenal and Statius were never completely forgotten. Cicero was a classic in some schools, but compilations of Boethius, Donatus and Cassiodorus were more used. Petrarch spared no pains to collect manuscripts, especially of Cicero; but copies were few, widely scattered, and the poet was his own laborious amanuensis. Wherever he heard of even a fragment he undertook a long journey to examine, and if possible, to secure it. To Petrarch belongs the high honor of being the first modern to understand the value of public libraries. He was the first and greatest of the Humanists. In 1212, the cathedral of Novara could boast of copies of Boethius, Priscian, the Code of Justinian, the Decretals, the Etymology of Isidorus, besides a Bible and a few service books. This library was great wealth. In a few great monasteries like that of Fleury there were larger collections. The ignorance of copyists was an obstacle

to the diffusion of such knowledge as remained. Like too many of our modern stenographers and typewriters, they practiced the mechanical part of their profession, but sense in phrases, and accuracy in words, both in spelling and verbal identity were beyond the capacity of the greater number. Hence scholars, and Petrarch in particular, protested against the ignorance of the copyists. "Everybody," he complains, "who has learned to use a pen and to paint a little on a parchment is considered a writer, although he is ignorant of all education, is devoid of brains, and wanting in skill; original and copy are confounded by them, so that when they undertake to write one thing, they so completely alter the sense that you cannot recognize what you have dictated. And yet these copyists multiply, restrained by no rules, approved by no examination, and elected by no judge. Such liberty is not conceded to workmen, husbandmen, weavers, nor any other operatives, although in their case the mischief would be light, but in this it is serious. Everybody becomes a copyist, and their wages are high, although they mangle everything." A few enthusiastic students engaged in the labor of collecting and comparing manuscripts. They received no aid from the universities, rigid in their own system, as universities always are, and they were regarded with no friendly eye by the monks, whose monasteries they searched. But slowly and with infinite pains the treasures of antiquity were sifted from the dust and neglect in which they were buried in the convents of Italy, Constantinople, Germany, Switzerland and France. Great was the joy when some dusty, grimy volume was unearthed. Toilsome days and nights were spent in transcribing and collating it, until at length a sufficient number of copies were produced, to satisfy the more eager students.

The work prosecuted by Petrarch was taken up by Boccaccio; and as the Benedictines are spoken of as the preservers of literature the experience of the scholar with the monks of Monte Casino ought to be reproduced. The narration is preserved by Benvenuto da Imola from Boccaccio's own statement. "With a view to the clearer understanding of this text (*Paradiso* xxii. 74), I will relate what my revered teacher Boccaccio of Certaldo humorously told me. He said that when he was in Apulia, attracted by the celebrity of the convent, he paid a visit to Monte Casino, whereof Dante speaks. Desirous of seeing the collection of books, which he understood to be a very choice one, he modestly asked a monk, for he was always most courteous in manners, to open the library as a favor for him. The monk answered stiffly, pointing to a steep staircase "Go up, it is open." Boccaccio went up gladly; but he found that the place which held so great a treasure was without either door or key. He entered and saw grass sprouting on the windows, and all the books and benches thick with dust. In his astonishment he began to open and turn the leaves of first one tome and then of another, and found many and divers volumes of ancient and foreign works. Some of them had lost several sheets; others were snipped and pared all round the text, and mutilated in various ways. At last lamenting that the toil and study of so many illustrious men have passed into the hands of most abandoned wretches, he departed with tears and sighs. Coming to the cloister he asked a monk whom he met why those valuable books had been so disgracefully mangled. He answered that the monks seeking to gain a few soldi were in the habit of cutting off sheets and making psalters which they sold to boys. The margins too they manufactured into charms and sold to women.

So then, O man of study, go to, and rack your brains; make books that you may come to this.

During this long neglect which extended even to the fifteenth century the trade in books had almost entirely ceased. Some books were manufactured in cloisters, and it was here also that barbarous mutilations of ancient authors took place. In the general stagnation of commerce parchment was hardly procurable at a distance from the great marts. Hence the monks scraped and effaced classic works in order to make room for medieval litanies. This practice was very general; and the histories of Livy and Lucretius were replaced by miracle myths and legends. Occasionally the works of rival orders were also effaced to provide space for elementary treatises. Hence palimpsests abound.

The business of book lending grew up, and the keepers of the shops, under the strict rules prevailing were "stationarii",—stationmen. These men were under the control of the universities, and obliged to take the oath of allegiance. Jews were forbidden to sell books and must employ a stationer. No book could be sold in Paris without a permit from the university. Noblemen kept scribes, and Greek books were copied even after the great presses of Aldus, Froben and Estienne rendered the labor unnecessary. Students could not copy without depositing a pledge; and no student was permitted to remove a book from Paris. School books were very scarce; and large works practically inaccessible. Even princes were compelled to deposit an equivalent pledge of money or of plate when they borrowed a book; and property of that kind was an important portion of testamentary bequests. The royal library of France collected by Charles V., VI., VII., consisting of about nine hundred volumes, was kept in a tower of the Louvre and consisted

of legends, romances, books on astrology, necromancy, geomancy, not because men preferred such trash, but because the church had forbidden philosophical and serious books of all kinds to lay persons, and destroyed such wherever she could. Louis XI. was obliged to deposit a large amount of plate, and procure a nobleman to join him in a bond to return a book that he borrowed. Even as late as 1424, the Countess of Westmoreland prayed the privy council for an order restoring a book borrowed by the late king. The book was "The Chronicles of Jerusalem." The prior of Christ Church Canterbury procured a precept under the privy seal requiring the prior of Shine to return a book or appear to state reasons for not doing so. King Henry V. borrowed a few books which were anxiously reclaimed by their owners after his death. It was no less difficult to borrow a book than to buy one. On the 29th of March, 1208, King John wrote to the Abbot of Reading acknowledging the Old Testament in six books. Receipt is also acknowledged of "The Sentences" of Peter Lombard, the "Epistles" of St. Augustine on the City of God and the third part of the Psalter; "Valerian de Moribus;" "Origen on the Old Testament," and "Claudius Arianus to Marius." The same month the king wrote acknowledging receipt of his copy of Pliny, which the same abbot had had in his custody. In 1249, King Henry III. ordered Edward son of Otho of Westminster to have purchased certain service books for the chaplains in the new chapel at Windsor, and they were to be responsible for this "library" of eight volumes. In 1250, King Henry ordered the Master of the Knights of the Temple to allow Henry of the wardrobe to have for the queen's use a great book in French entitled "The Exploits of Antioch, and of the kings and others"; a Latin heroic poem on the

crusade of Richard I. At that time there was no literature in English except a few romances and metrical chronicles of a very foolish character. In fact the world was almost denuded of practical secular literature. Let it not be supposed, however, that the English were unaware of the book burnings on the continent, or of the scientific appliances that had existed in France and Sicily, but by this time all destroyed. William the Conqueror had been a partaker of the medicinal benefits of the bathing establishment at Salerno before the conquest. A suppressed resentment was universal in Europe from the Severn to the Moldau long before Wicliffe.

The church was not more liberal toward her clerical than her lay members in the matter of general literature, or of books in the vernacular tongue. The general law of the church on this subject will be sufficiently illustrated by three examples. A. D. 1229, the council of Toulouse passed the following decree: "We forbid the books of the old or new testament to be held by any of the laity; but the psalter or breviary may be retained for divine service, or the hours of the blessed Mary, from devotion; but we most stringently forbid even the permitted books to be retained if translated into the common speech." The Council of Biterre, A. D. 1246, in its advice to inquisitors speaks of theological books which are not to be in possession of lay people even in Latin, nor even of the clergy in the common tongue.

The Council of Tarragona, A. D. 1234, made this decree: "We likewise ordain that no person shall possess the books of the old or new testament in the common tongue; ('In Romanico, that is the language of France as already explained.') If any person shall possess such books, within eight days after he shall know of the publication of this decree, he shall deliver them to the bishop

to be burned. Unless he shall do so, whether clerical or lay person, he shall be held suspected of heresy until he shall have purged himself therefrom."

The pope Gregory VII. who had promoted to the dignity of a bishopric, Transmundus abbot of the convent of Tremiti because he had put out the eyes of some monks and cut out the tongue of another, was not very likely to spare books.

The monasteries are far from deserving the credit sometimes given them of preserving classical literature during the dark ages. The principal monasteries when founded were provided with books of course, because books were then numerous; but as the monastic spirit dominated both monks and society, books were forgotten then neglected, then despised and left to moths and worms. In multitudes of cases the most valuable MSS. were ignorantly and fanatically cut to pieces until only a small fraction was left for Petrarch and his successors to preserve.

PARIS

AVICENNA. AVERROES. ROGER BACON
AMALRIC OF BENA. AL GAZEL. DAVID OF DINANT
SYNOD OF PARIS, A. D. 1209

The philosophy of Aristotle was reproduced and perpetuated in literary splendor in the early middle ages, by four illustrious men,—three Mahomedans and one Englishman. These men were Avicenna,—Ibn Sina, Averroes,—Ibn Roshd; Al Gazel, and Roger Bacon. The first of these scholars was a man whose genius and acquirements seem to have far surpassed the limits

reached even by the greatest of other minds. A native of the district of Bokhara, born about A. D. 980, his family during his infancy settled in that capital, then a city of great repute, and a centre of commerce and learning. Greek books found their way even to that remote locality; and the works of Porphyry and Euclid early attracted the attention of the young Ibn Sina. The philosophy of Aristotle was soon encountered, and mastered after some difficulty. The "Metaphysics" were read over so often that the words were ever after impressed on his memory. As usual with scholars of that day Avicenna studied medicine, and became one of the physicians attached to the court of Samanides. Here the royal library with its extensive collection of books, all regularly arranged in subjects, afforded a splendid opportunity to the genius of the young student. This library was destroyed by fire not long afterward and has never been replaced. Avicenna was accused of burning it in order to conceal the sources of his erudition. Any person who knows the love of a scholar for his books can perceive the folly of that accusation. Mahomed of Guzni was then in the ascendent; and he surrounded himself with scholars, according to custom; but Avicenna when invited declined Mahomed's service. From that date Avicenna devoted himself to composition, and produced a great number of works, some of which created a revolution in science and philosophy. As a physician Avicenna's fame stood very high; but his speculations on the origin of man's rational soul, supported by references to Aristotle and Plato, eventually became known in Europe during the reign of the Emperor Frederic II. His Canon of Medicine was early translated into Hebrew and also into Latin. A synopsis of Aristotle's doctrines is contained in the Logic, Metaphysics and other treatises.

tises. These works were diligently studied in Europe in the twelfth century; and not a few learned doctors accepted the doctrines laid down, in whole or in part.

Averroes,—Ibn Roshd,—the strange metamorphosis of sound being due to a Spanish mispronunciation—was a native of Cordova, and naturally inherited the philosophical speculations of his age and surroundings, A. D. 1126. The white caliphate of Cordova was then in its splendor. Schools and colleges abounded; hospitals were munificently maintained, and the court delighted in learning and learned men, although a close observer might, and some did, perceive a change of spirit differing in important respects from the broader tendency of former days.

Ibn Roshd was introduced to Yusuf the reigning prince by Abubakr the vizier, himself a philosopher; and Ibn Zohr, or Avenzoar the most illustrious of Moslem physicians was his contemporary and friend. In such society progress in knowledge was inevitable. Averroes became the great interpreter of Aristotle. Many points left obscure by the Greek sage were brought into prominence and high relief by Averroes in contradistinction to teachings of the Christians. Hence Averroes represented those principles of the peripatetic school most adverse to Christianity as taught in the middle ages. ,

But the writings of Averroes, which included treatises on astronomy, medicine, jurisprudence, and philosophy, when introduced to Europe by the scholars of the Emperor Frederic the Second's court, were accepted with profound reverence. They sank deep into the minds of philosophical thinkers, and created intense literary enthusiasm in their favor on one side, and opposition to them on the part of zealous churchmen. A revolution

against philosophy however expelled Averroes from Spain. Other philosophers shared the same fate, and some were murdered by religious fanatics. Averroes died in exile, A. D. 1198.

Roger Bacon was a native of Ilchester, Somersetshire, England, A. D. 1214. About 1235, he crossed over to France, where the philosophy of Aristotle and the writings of Averroes were then extremely popular among scholars. Many minds were rendered keen by the subtleties and acrimonies of Franciscans and Dominicans. Bacon possessed a mind eminently practical. He was dissatisfied with the shallow discussions and metaphysical speculations which were substituted for practical knowledge. Of true science there was none in the general possession of the public. Empty theories were the only foundation for the simulacrum of secular knowledge that showed itself at all. The great merit of Bacon consists in his restoration, probably as the result of the efforts of his own genius, of the experimental method known to the ancients. Building on this foundation, Bacon produced a philosophy eminently practical, and far in advance of his time. He is the founder of modern experimental philosophy, which seeks facts first, collates them, and derives laws from their observed relations and sequences. Hence modern philosophy is built on facts in the world of which man forms a part. Bacon's treatises, which he called "Opus Magnus," "Opus Minor" and "Opus Tertium" respectively, obtained deserved fame for their author, and have transmitted his renown to all time.

Like the superior attainments and scientific appliances of pope Sylvester II., the learning of Bacon was attributed to magic, and "black arts," and suspicions were hurled against him by the zealots of his day. Roger Bacon suffered the penalty always inflicted on men who

are too good and wise for the conceited declaimers around them.

Al Gazali was a Moslem philosopher of Bagdad who became lecturer in that city about, A. D. 1090. He belonged to the Arabian schoolmen at a time when scepticism was popular, and philosophy founded on Aristotle was universally accepted. Al Gazali compiled a treatise which he called "The Tendencies of the Philosophers," which is a synopsis of the peripatetic system; and another on "The Destruction of the Philosophers," in which the mixture of physical and metaphysical notions then prevalent, is severely combated. But he finally rested in the oriental principle of emanation and absorption, mingled with neo-platonism, and which so far corresponded with ideas generally derived from Averroes. His sentiments were diffused through Europe, and received much favor and also much opposition.

The general tendency of the speculative theology thus created constituted a school of thought which was very wide-spread in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; was continually nourished by visits of learned men to the Arab schools in Spain, and was known in Europe long afterward. It was embraced ardently by scholars and professors, from its boldness and the absence of any formulated rival, and governed the thought of many universities. The principles of this school have never ceased to circulate, and they merit liberal investigation.

Simon of Tournay, a professor of theology at Paris, A. D. 1200, became remarked as an Aristotelian. David of Dinant, who appears to have been attached to the papal court, imbibed principles from Averroes, and established a community known long afterward, and extremely numerous.

Amalric of Bena, teacher of theology at Paris, denied many of the doctrines of the church in support of the principles of Averroism; and Aristotle himself as then understood was officially pronounced a dangerous author. Parisian orthodoxy was alarmed by the prevalence of this independence, and a fierce and bloody persecution was commenced by the synod held in that city, A. D. 1209. The followers of Amalric were included in the condemnation. The sentiments of Amalric were contained in a book called "Periphrisicon," by Johannes Scotius. Amalric himself and a multitude of his adherents were apprehended and burned. All the copies of the book, "Periphrisicon," were burned at the same time. By the same synod David of Dinant and several other priests were condemned to the stake. Two treatises then attributed to Aristotle, but really works of Avicenna and Al Gazali, were then in circulation; but all the copies of them that could be seized were burned together with the priests. One of these works was the celebrated "Fons Vitæ," a treatise of very great merit. Many other works condemned at the same synod were then also publicly burned. The original record deserves for its callous insensibility to be reproduced. "Qui omnes errores inveniuntur in libro qui intitulatur Periphrisicon. Et hic liber inter alios libros condemnatos Parisiis ponitur, et is liber cum Amalrico et suis sequacibus fuit Parisiis combustus." "All of which errors are found in a book which is entitled Periphrisicon. This book is included among the books condemned and burned at Paris, together with Amalric and his wretched followers." Amalric was the founder of the society called the "Brethren of the Free Spirit," whose character has been learnedly vindicated by Ullman as among the most eminent "Reformers before the Reformation." The works of Averroes and Al Gazali

had been introduced recently from Constantinople, and were already translated into latin. After 1230, the supremacy of Aristotelian philosophy in Europe was fully established. Sixty-nine years later than the proceedings just narrated Roger Bacon's turn came to be a martyr for the pursuit of knowledge. His misfortune was to be born in the thirteenth and not in the eighteenth century. His mind belonged to the later age. It is to him and not to his more modern namesake that advanced science is really indebted. Having acquired enviable fame at Paris and Oxford, Bacon became a Franciscan, perhaps from preference for the enquiring spirit then largely prevailing in that order. But the reputation of a magician was sufficient reason to include him in their destructive zeal.

After his return from the continent, about A. D. 1240, his fame as a scholar, and the suspicion of magic that accompanied him, subjected the great philosopher to grievous oppression and indignity. He was not only directly discouraged from prosecuting his researches, but he was denied an amanuensis, scribe, copyist or attendant. He was even forbidden to communicate any of his books or writings to any person whomsoever, on pain of forfeiting the book so communicated, and of a fast of several days on bread and water. It was an accident—the arrival of Cardinal Foulques, and the kind interposition of a clerk named Raymond de Laon who knew Bacon personally, that resulted in giving to the world the imperishable fruits of Bacon's genius. But the Cardinal could not relax the barbarous restriction imposed on Bacon. Only when Foulques became Clement IV. was the philosopher enabled to give his thoughts permanent form. In writing to Clement, Bacon strongly complained of the restrictions placed upon him. He also says "and certainly if it had been in my power to have communicated my

discourses freely I should have composed many things for my brother the scholar, and for others my most intimate friends. But as I despaired of communicating my thoughts I forbore to commit them to writing." This lamentation from the mightiest practical philosopher the world had seen! Assuredly the foes of learning were then in the ascendent.

The pope had asked for a treatise from Bacon's pen. No such treatise could have been written before that time, and the philosopher's own explanation of that fact gives the reasons. But his mind was full and his indignation stirred. Bacon made no secret of his contempt for contemporary professors, and from his attack on the vices of the clergy and monks, about A. D. 1261, the philosopher himself and his works were condemned by Jerome de Ascoli, general of the Franciscans, and Bacon immured for four years in prison—to 1265, and subsequently for ten years longer, in the Franciscan convent at Paris. His books were nailed to the shelves that no monk might be injured by his suspected novelties. A connected series of the writings of Bacon has never been compiled. His work on the "Alphabet of Philosophy," showing that all sciences rest on mathematics, and containing smaller treatises on astronomy and geography was read by Columbus, whose memorable voyage was largely brought about by its reasonings. Liberty came only a few months before his death,—midsummer eve, A. D. 1292. No pope has ever released Bacon from the suspicion entertained of him and his works.

BAGDAD

HOLAKOU—13TH CENTURY

The black caliphate of Bagdad, as well as the green and the white of Cairo and Cordova respectively, was early distinguished for the encouragement of science and the creation and collection of books. The second caliph of the great Abbasside dynasty, Al Mansur, A. D. 754, founder of the new city on the site of the old one of Nebuchadnezzar, was a munificent patron of learned men. He was the first caliph to establish the taste for literature; and in his reign many philosophical Greek works were translated into Arabic. Under his government Bagdad became indeed "The City of Peace," and "The Bulwark of the Saints," whose tombs long abounded outside its walls. There also reposed the ashes of the Imaums, chiefly of the Sooni Sect, especially of Imaum Azeni, or Great Imaum, whose followers include the Turks and Tartars. Sacred shrines and venerated sepulchres long abounded. The astrologer Ner-bakht premonished Al Mansur that no sovereign of his line should die within the walls of the capital; and the prediction found a strange fulfilment. Haroun Al Raschid and his consort Zobeidah decorated the city with bridges, mosques and palaces.

The schools and colleges founded and richly endowed by Al Mamun, and Al Mostassim, sons of Haroun, enticed learned men from all the East and from Constantinople, to share the bounty of the caliph, and the fame conferred by the literary celebrity and lustre of the "Queen of the East." Al Mamun brought vast numbers of books and manuscripts into Bagdad. A large share

of one of the libraries of Constantinople was secured from the emperor, Michæl the Third. Copyists abounded; and transcription became a learned profession especially among the Nestorians. Versions of Aristotle, Plato, Hippocrates, and other writers were issued by Honian, a physician of that sect. Each caliph had his own historian; and works on all known sciences, and some new, were published without censorship or restraint. The Moslems of Mesopotamia and Andalusia were for a season the instructors of mankind.

A tree of gold and silver adorned the vestibule of the gorgeous palace of Moktader, the scene of the magnificent reception of the Greek ambassadors dispatched by Nicephorus. But in the midst of all this splendor the substantial power of the caliphs declined. Bagdad was an oasis of civilization in the midst of a vast area of disorder and contention. By A. D. 936, under Razi, the caliphate was in fact dismembered. The rulers of Persia were obeyed to the walls of Bagdad; and even within the city the caliphs existed by sufferance, chiefly from the veneration yielded to their ecclesiastical character. Bowyan and Seljook contended fiercely beneath their eyes and wasted each other until the later Abbassides again combined real power with sacerdotal functions. Under the last of the dynasty Bagdad was again a centre of empire, and a focus of wealth and culture. Commerce and the arts were promoted. Deposed princes found an asylum within the security of the city; the bazaars were again thronged with merchants, and the colleges with students. The wealth and population of the city of peace formed a theme for the historian; and the opulence of the caliphs in gold and silver far exceeded that of any other oriental potentate. Vaults filled with the precious metals in coin and ingots were situated under the court of the

palace, and contained the surplus revenues. These vaults were filled by Nasser, but depleted by his grandson Mostanser, and again replenished by Mostazem, the last of the line. The liberality of Mostanser outshone that of his predecessors. This caliph founded and splendidly endowed the Mostanser-yyah, or university of Mostanser, near the eastern bank of the Tigris, and that institution far surpassed its predecessors.

During the course of the tenth and eleventh centuries the literary taste of the eastern as of the western Moslem world gave place to an exclusive veneration for the Koran. As among the christians of that day the revelation was supposed to contain all needful, and subsequently all permissible knowledge. Hence the investigation of material truth was regarded as an impiety. The vague ideas held by the multitude in regard to the structure of the universe gradually became indurated into fixed principles, sustained among christians by specific episcopal declarations and patristic reasoning. In the court of Bagdad a revolution similar to that which expelled Maimonides and Averroes in a subsequent age from Cordova pressed heavily on the Greek literature cultivated by the Nestorians. This spirit governed the city during the caliphates of the later Abbassides; and on several occasions Greek philosophical books of the Nestorians were consigned to the flames or the Tigris. The speculations encouraged by Al Mamun, A. D. 813 to 832, and the astronomical and mathematical sciences cultivated with great success under that caliph were denounced as impious, and the salvation of the caliph himself gravely doubted by Moslem doctors. Although learning still flourished it was on a far narrower basis than during the early period. Practical knowledge that could have strengthened and defended the country was

corroded away, and the mind of the nation was eaten hollow by superstitious dreams. The arm of the people was paralyzed by ignorance and fanatical bigotry against learning.

But whatever lingering reverence was felt by the Mahomedan and philosophical world for the glories of Bagdad, found no corresponding feeling in the heart of the invading destroyers of Zenghis. About A. D. 1241, the new "Scourge of God" swept over Europe; and the Roman and Mahomedan world was devastated by Tartar hordes under the successors of this second Attila, A. D. 1258. Holakou, grandson of Zenghis, assailed the dominions of the caliph, and his pagan hosts covered the earth with black ruin and bloody carnage. Bagdad was fiercely stormed; the caliph murdered; and for forty awful days the most savage brutality and atrocity raged madly in the devoted city. The Moguls inflicted upon Bagdad horrors far more awful than the worst previously endured by Persia and Khorassan at the hands of the same barbarians. Day and night were fire and sword at work in carnage and devastation.

"The gilded minarets and pinnacles of the mosques and palaces, lofty as the exalted thoughts of a noble mind, fell to the earth from their elevation like shooting stars hurled by the hand of God against demons; and the cypress groves which adorned the numerous stately gardens, set on fire by the molten lead which flowed on them from the roofs, blazed like vast funeral torches."

The countless treasures amassed by public and private magnificence, and the costly merchandise of the earth became the booty of the barbarians too coarse to comprehend its use. The libraries accumulated during five centuries by the munificence of princes and the learning of schools, were consigned to the flames and the waters of

the Tigris; and the torch which had illumined the mind of the East and West with an undimmed effulgence was at last extinguished in the blood of eight hundred thousand victims.

A new town slowly arose over the wreck of the city. Again Sooni and Shyah contended for its possession. The Osmanli at length became master under the terrible sword of Mourad, 1638. The cold fatalism of the Turks is necessarily the enemy of all improvement. Bagdad is a degraded place; but there are elements all around it that could be again united; and their active principle could be utilized for the rehabilitation of the city in much literary glory and influence.

TRIPOLI

BERTRAM DE ST. GILLES

13TH CENTURY

Syria was replete with evidences of literary taste during many centuries. The library of Cesarea was early formed and justly celebrated. Tripoli—a seaport at the foot of the Lebanon was another centre of literary illumination. The Saracens of Syria were by no means behind their contemporaries in love of literature, and Damascus during its occupation as a caliphate was a centre of learning.

The library of Tripoli was large and valuable. The rage of the first crusade blinded men to every sentiment but that of fanaticism. The city was taken by the Crusaders, and fortified by Raymond of Toulouse as an appanage for his house. The library was burned totally by Count Bertram de St. Gilles, commander of the as-

sailants. The first room entered, it is narrated, was found to contain only copies of the Koran. Judging that all the contents of the library were of the same character, the armed zealots fired the building. A few towers and fragments of wall are all that now remain to tell the story of wanton destruction enacted at Tripoli by so called champions of the chivalry of Europe.

MARQUIS DE MONTFERRAND

DOMINICUS

The thirteenth century, and the same assertion is true of the fourteenth, formed a dreadfully mournful period in the persecutions that raged against books, and the persons that possessed, read or even looked at books condemned by the Dominicans and other monks and friars.

As, in the early centuries, while pagan Rome was still in power, a general terror of literature seized the population of Europe, and this alarm was aggravated by the menaces of the Dominicans.

Besides the books destroyed under a formal sentence, others were also destroyed through fear or remorse. An instance of that description, and there were many such, is found in the library of the works of all sects, "omnium sectarum" as the chronicle expressed it, collected during a period of forty years by the Marquis de Montferrand in Auvergne. On the advice or warning of the Dominicans, and such advice was formidable at that time, the marquis consigned the entire library to the flames about the year, A. D. 1225.

POPE JOHN XXII

JOHN PETER OLIVA. COMMENTARY ON THE APOCALYPSE.

MARSILIUS OF PADUA. JOHN OF GENOA. NICOLAS

DE ULTRICURIA.—14TH CENTURY

The first quarter of the fourteenth century was especially distinguished among churchmen by the acrimonious quarrels between the rival sects of the Franciscans on the subject of expropriation of property by Christ and his apostles. One party taught that St. Francis had laid down the correct rule, in his regulation that Franciscans should own no property either individually or collectively. Gradually this rule was relaxed by some, and the order grew exceedingly rich. But there were not wanting men who held to a more strict interpretation of the rule of their founder. The contest waxed warm and created much scandal and disunion. Pope Nicolas III. had published in 1279, a constitution upholding the more rigid rule as to ownership, but allowing the use of property. As this dictum was a distinction without a practical difference, inasmuch as the order might enjoy the perpetual use of any amount of property, the spirituals were offended. The dissatisfaction was expressed in a book written by John Peter Oliva in Narbonne, called *Postilla* or *Commentary on the Apocalypse*.

Irritation on one subject had produced investigation on others also, and thus led to great freedom of speech. Oliva denounced the corruptions of the Romish religion with unsparing boldness. He was a man of learning and power and enjoyed a high reputation. In all his

writings, and they were numerous, he lashed the prevailing corruption in doctrine and practice. Especially in his *Postilla* he denounced the Church of Rome as the Babylonish whore described in the book of the Revelation. In 1307, the Franciscans became divided into two bodies; —the “Brethren of the Community” and the “Spirituals.” John Peter Oliva belonged to the latter. In 1314, this faction gained the mastery in Narbonne and Beziers, and drove the “Brethren” out of the monasteries by force. By this date Oliva was dead and buried in Narbonne; but his followers were very numerous among monks and laity.

The Emperor Frederic II. was known to be a sympathizer with the antagonists of the pope, and many of the Spirituals fled to Sicily from Tuscany and other parts of Italy. Pope John XXII. first ordered a crusade of extirpation against these Fraticelli. Next he required the expulsion of the Spirituals from Sicily. Then he ordered a change of dress. But many resisted this decree, and the pope ordered them to be treated as heretics. Their leader Bernard Delitosi ended his days in prison. The Dominican inquisitors were then directed against the Fraticelli, Beghards, and Spirituals; and an immense number of these persons were cruelly murdered under the direct authority, and by the immediate orders of the pope and inquisitors. John issued two bulls pronouncing the doctrine of expropriation by Christ and his apostles pestiferous, erroneous, damnable, blasphemous, and opposed to the catholic faith, as indeed it was, as interpreted by greedy priests of all orders. Under these decrees many more persons were seized by the Dominican inquisitors and burned in France, Spain, Italy, and Germany. The writings of John Peter Oliva, and especially his *Postilla*, were officially pronounced heretical

and burned. Oliva regarded the Romish church as the whore of Babylon, the pope as anti-christ; the angel flying through the midst of heaven with an everlasting gospel as Francis, and held an evangelical life to be one void of all property. Bartholomew Albizi wrote a book in 1385, which has been called the Al Koran of the Franciscans, and which is far more indecent in the comparison of Francis to Christ than anything said by Oliva. But Albizi did not denounce the pope as anti-christ and his book lives officially still.

The hostility against the Roman Church spread far and wide, and grew more bitter. During the contest between the pope and Lewis of Bavaria, Marsilius of Padua, a distinguished philosopher and jurist fled to Lewis, with whom he became an imperial chancellor, and wrote with power and vehemence against the Roman Church and the pope. His celebrated "Defensor Pacis," A. D. 1324, declares the superiority of the emperors over the popes in external affairs of the church; paints in dark colors the vices of the Roman court; and declares that the bishops of Rome are no more than any other bishops. He was excommunicated, and the "Defensor Pacis" officially burned.

John of Genoa was an eminent theologian and philosopher at Perugia. His book on the superiority of the emperors in "Temporal Things" was officially burned, and its author excommunicated the same year as Marsilius, A. D. 1327.

A little later a Trinitarian controversy sprang up among the scholastic doctors in various universities, notably Paris and Oxford. A. D. 1340, various opinions of these disputants were condemned. At Paris these two doctors, John de Mercuria, A. D. 1347, and Nicolas de Ultricuria, A. D. 1348, were compelled to recant,

and their books were officially condemned and burned.

A. D. 1354, Guido an Augustinian was also condemned; in 1362, one Lewis, and John de Calore; and in 1366, Dionysius Soullechat were likewise condemned with their writings. At Oxford there were similar scenes, Wood's *Antiq. Oxon.* Tom. I. 153, 183, etc.

Women did not escape. A. D. 1310, Margaret Porretta a celebrated leader of The Brethren of the Free Spirit was burned at Paris "Coram clero et populo", "in presence of the clergy and people", on the Place de Greve. A relapsed Jew was burned at the same time. Margaret had maintained in her book, which was also condemned and destroyed that the soul when absorbed in the love of God might indulge in all natural inclinations without guilt; in other words that when the heart is pure the laws of humanity may be fulfilled. Not much logic is needed to prove that.

It would appear that Frenchmen are always willing to extend violent hands against the defenceless of their own nation, or strangers of other lands, at the open or secret suggestions of a foreign priest who is the only party that is benefited thereby. When will nations cease to do the dirty work of priests?

RAYMOND LULLI

A. D. 1235-1315—POPE GREGORY XI.

A. D. 1229, James I. of Aragon reduced the island of Majorca, the largest of the Baleares. Among his followers was Don Raymond Lull, married to Donna Anna de Eril. After the conquest Don Raymond received valuable estates in Majorca, and transferred his residence to

Palma. Here his eldest son was born January 25th, 1235. This boy became the celebrated and by many the venerated Raymond Lull, usually called Lulli. The youth was wild, although early married. Two children, a son and a daughter were born to him, but his vicious life continued. His conversion was brought about by the discovery that a lady of his adoration was dreadfully afflicted with cancer. The shock—of disgust or of remorse, probably affected Raymond for ever afterward, or rather perhaps touched and concentrated the irregular but not determinate insanity of his character. He grew morose. Gathering up what little he had and setting it apart for his family, Raymond became a Franciscan and traveled extensively. Returning to Palma he became a recluse and a student, especially of Arabic. At this period he composed a remarkable work entitled “*Ars Universalis*,” the object of which was to express metaphysical truths by geometrical symbols and figures, by means of the insertion of subjects and predicates in spaces on circular papers. The names, subjects, essences, qualities, relations and affections of things found in logic being written down each in a space, the paper was fixed in a frame; the predicates were also written on another paper so placed as to revolve on the first, on the principle apparently of a revolving calendar. These revolutions of names and predicates necessarily produced countless combinations of subjects and predicates. From this arrangement he expected that many new definitions, axioms, and propositions would arise; and assuredly he was not mistaken therein. Lull next devoted himself to the conversion of the Moslems, on whom he expected that his “*Universal Art*” would produce a powerful effect. With this object he proclaimed his mission at Montpellier in 1276, Paris 1281, Geneva 1289, Rome 1291;

and succeeded in establishing the study of Arabic in many schools in France, Italy and Spain. But being disappointed in the aid he expected from princes who were then dreadfully impoverished by the crusades which almost denuded Europe of money, except the Venetians and the pope, Lull resolved to proceed alone. Here the heroism of the half demented man was conspicuous. He made several voyages: Tunis 1292, Bona and Algiers 1309. During these years and wanderings Lull wrote many treatises. He was present at the Council of Vienne 1311, and was soon afterward at Messina and Majorca. The treaty between Sancho King of Majorca 1314, and the Bey of Tunis encouraged Lull to hope for good effects from another visit to that city. Accordingly in that year he crossed over to Bugia and continued his efforts. But the people arose against the old man,—now 80—and expelled him and beat and stoned him. Some Genoese merchants, among whom we find the remarkable name of Stephen Colon, took up the dying veteran and placed him on board their ship. A few days afterward Raymond died from the effects of his injuries at Portopi near Palma. His works are very numerous, although many are very brief. They are written in a barbarous style; and by a person possessed of great zeal but little learning. They had not escaped the eye of Nicholas Eymeric then inquisitor in Spain, and Lull was complained of as a heretic. Sentence was passed on himself and his works in 1385, by Gregory XI. Subsequently in 1386, and 1395, two sentences in his favor were pronounced; one at Barcelona, and the second at Valencia. Long afterward, however, in order to obviate the effects of these favorable opinions, solemn testimony was offered as to the genuineness of the sentence pronounced by Gregory, and in 1600, Gregory Fortessa, vicar-general, and Melchior

Trias, notary public at Palma, certified, on royal authority, that this sentence was to be found in a private cabinet of the archives of the university of Majorca.

Lull really became proficient in chemistry; and in his searches for the philosopher's stone, made important discoveries in distillation, and the decomposition of bodies. Hence he was accused of cabalism and magic, and his books doomed to the flames. The regions traversed by Lull are still noted for thaumaturgical practices, as may be seen in the history of Cagliostro, and other more recent charlatans. '

TOULOUSE

THE TALMUD. DOMINICANS, 14TH CENT.

Whatever may be the literary or religious value of the Talmud, it is and always has been a book almost wholly removed from the public eye. Composed in a very ancient style both of language and of character only a few of the most profound linguists even among the Jews have been able to read it intelligently. It is a book exclusively adapted to a Jewish mind, and is not of a character popular anywhere, or likely to become popular. The contents of the Talmud, during the last thousand years have probably been less generally known than those of the Rig Veda, or the Zend-Avesta. But under the name of the Talmud there were included many other Jewish books in the middle ages; and the most mysterious and opprobrious title was always given to works that the friars condemned. By this means public approval of their suppression by any and every method was more readily secured. "If you wish to drown your dog, say

that he is mad." The imagination of the ignorant, which is the most furious and destructive of all human incentives, can be always relied on to effect the evil work of a malicious suggestion. The entire history of the inquisitorial proceedings against persons and books that marked the middle ages is filled with proofs of the cunning and successful employment of that appeal to the imagination of the populace which rendered cruelty and barbarity exceedingly easy. The ignorant imagination is still the weapon that is employed by charlatans of all sorts to work up a popular feeling. Let any self styled Herod array himself in royal robes, although they be of the flimsiest tinsel, and let him adroitly admit the sunlight, or gas light, or still more the electric to shine on the tinsel, and the multitude will declare his very human talk to be "the voice of a god and not of a man." Let the mouldering remains of a newly deceased child be decorated with lace, and surrounded with candles, and the pallor of the decaying face will be pronounced more than human, if only some deceitful charlatan will whisper "Angel" in the ears of the foolish gazers around the corpse. In the twelfth and thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it was only necessary to shout "Talmud", and the foolish multitude kept ignorant for the purpose of being controlled by their imagination, at once dreamed of something dreadful, some association with the devil. The inquisition at Toulouse accordingly found no difficulty in securing popular applause in condemning the "Talmud" to the flames in 1315. Many copies were then burned, having been condemned by experts who, in the words of the sentence "were acquainted with Hebrew." At one time two wagon loads of alleged Talmuds were burned; but this collection must have included many other works, and it is even possible that there was

not a copy of the Talmud at all. The Jewish communities have never multiplied copies of the Talmud to that extent. In those days the burning of a "Talmud" was a common occurrence. It must have become a cry for any Hebrew book. Not seldom a Jew and a Talmud were burned together. Twelve thousand copies of Jewish books called Talmuds again, were on a subsequent occasion burned at Cremona.

BOOKS OF MAGIC

THE PREACHING FRIARS—14TH CENTURY

"Magic" was another convenient "mad-dog" cry raised successfully against books. This fact is alluded to by many writers of that and subsequent ages. Unhappily there were then, as there are now in the obscure haunts of pretended fortune tellers, books that assumed to reveal methods for controlling natural events by human means chiefly of the most contemptible description. The greater part of this folly was imported from the East, whither men betook themselves for reading matter during the persecution of books in Europe. In 1319, the preaching friars condemned a book of this kind which had been read, and was probably found in possession of the brother minor Bernard Deliciosi, apparently at Toulouse. It is described as "a book of necromancy which he had read through, and had marked the contents of by marginal notes, a book containing many strange characters, many names of demons, the manner of invoking them, and of offering sacrifice to them, the secrets revealed by them for the destruction of houses, and strong castles, for sinking ships, to make one's self be loved,

believed and listened to by great persons and others, to secure women for marriage or possession, to render any one blind, or paralytic, or sick, or to kill any one according to pleasure, and whether the person be present or absent, by the aid of certain images and other superstitious ceremonies." There were also rituals for the conjuring up of winds and storms. It is a pity that the Toulousian inquisitors did not also banish rituals for exorcisms, for the conjuring up of fish into the nets of fishermen on the coast of Ireland and elsewhere. Necromancy of this kind for the expulsion of all ill luck from bells, locomotives, and other engines is still retained and approved in many places.

According to the decrees of the Inquisition at Toulouse between the years 1307 and 1323, the accused persons, men and women, were condemned equally for having heard heretics preach, for having eaten of their consecrated bread, for having expressed a belief that they might be honest folk, for having saluted them or seen them, and for having read books suspected of heresy. Many stances of such "offences" having been punished are fully recorded. The works of Peter d' Autter were condemned to the flames with their author in 1310. Bernard Vasconis was condemned the year previous for having held those books in his possession and having read them.

During the continuance of this rage against books the translations of scripture long encouraged and often decreed by councils were again prohibited and destroyed. The poems of the Carlovingian era which seldom spared the Church have left scarcely a trace; and Louis the Pious religiously burned all the old poetic compositions of his country extant in his day. All the books of the Cathari were destroyed. Of Vaudois' books very

few have survived. The poems of chivalry frequently quoted by troubadours have been effaced.

Worse than all, the contents of these works have been metamorphosed into materials for lives of saints. Even the life of Charles himself has been ransacked for the same purpose.

COLOGNE

HENRY, ARCHBISHOP OF COLOGNE

WALTER THE LOLLARD

A. D. 1322, Henry, Archbishop of Cologne, assembled a council, and warned his bishops against the Brethren of the Free Spirit in Westphalia. About that time, Walter, a Hollander, since known as Walter the Lollard was burned at Cologne. But there were great numbers of persons who shared his opinions in the provinces of Germany. Of these the most prominent was Henry Eccard, who had been provincial of the Dominicans of Saxony and taught theology at Paris. The 26 Articles propounded by him were condemned by John XXII. The principles taught by Eccard were the same as those of his predecessors among the Brethren of the Free Spirit. His book was condemned to the flames.

JOHN WICLIFFE

GREGORY XI—14TH CENTURY

The story of John Wicklif or Wicliffe has been told so frequently and so well that it is briefly reviewed here solely for the continuity of the general series. Born at

the village of Wicliffe in Yorkshire, England, A. D. 1324, John, who derived his surname from his place of birth, was sent early to Oxford, and subsequently became a Fellow of Merton College. His chief studies were philosophy, metaphysics and theology. He was a laborious student, and a keen, sarcastic debater, Wicliffe first distinguished himself in favor of the University against the Mendicants in 1360. He wrote various pungent tracts against them; and was shortly afterward deprived of his wardenship of Canterbury Hall by Langham, archbishop of Canterbury, and the deprivation was confirmed by the pope. During the delay, Wicliffe again assailed the monks and clergy, and did not spare the pope himself. Through the friendship of the duke of Lancaster he soon afterward became Rector of Lutterworth in Leicestershire. In 1372, he took his degree of D. D. and lectured against the monks the pope and the clergy, and assailed the doctrines and constitution of the church. In 1374, he was a king's ambassador to remonstrate against the pope's reservation of churches. Henceforward Wicliffe became still more vehement in his denunciations of the pope, calling him antichrist, as an unbroken series of christian teachers had done since the paganizing days of Constantine. Wicliffe denounced the pope as "the most cursed of clippers and cut purses." In 1376 the monks drew up articles of accusation against him. Next year the pope issued five bulls, but the aged king Edward III. died before the bulls arrived. The university treated them with contempt. The year following the pope died. Wicliffe continued to speak and write in strong terms against the vices of the clergy and monks. He denied some of the chief doctrines of the church, especially the real presence in the eucharist. In 1378, Wicliffe's opinions were condemned in London by eccle-

siastical commissioners appointed to try him. Ten years after Wicliffe had finished his translation, in 1380, an attempt was made in the House of Lords to pass a bill for suppressing it. John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, however, stoutly defended his friend, and his friend's work, declaring that he would "maintain our having this law in our own tongue, whoever they be that brought in this bill." The attempt was a failure; but subsequently the reading or possession of a copy of that version was made a capital crime, and many persons were judicially murdered on that account.

A slight shock of paralysis partially disabled the reformer in 1382, but he continued to preach for two years. He died in 1384, at Lutterworth, aged sixty. After his doctrines had spread through England, and still more in Bohemia where Wicliffe's principles had always been widely held since christianity was first taught there from Constantinople, and after the commotions in the latter country had assembled the Council of Constance in 1414, Wicliffe was adjudged infamous; his writings were declared to contain abominable opinions, and were condemned to the flames. His bones were also dug up and burned at the same time. Wicliffe's chief work was the translation of the Bible into English. He is justly styled the Morning Star of the Reformation. There was a multitude of other stars also whose light had never ceased to shine. But the glory of Wicliffe was nearer to the English world, and the others paled before it.

Two rather obscure books, one called the Mirror of Saxony, the other composed by Thomas de Poville were burned at this period, the former in 1374, by decree of Gregory XI. the latter in 1388. The tone of these works, as well as their specific principles, may be inferred from the reformatory sentiments then extremely prevalent.

JOHN HUS

COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE—A. D. 1414

One of the most excellent and innocent men who have ever lived was John Hus, the illustrious reformer and martyr of Bohemia. His name also was derived from the place of his birth, Husinetz, on the border of Bavaria, A. D. 1373. His first studies were in his native town, then at Prachatitz, and finally at the university of Prague. His rise was rapid and he became president of the faculty of theology in 1401. Hus represented the national sentiments and feelings which had for centuries been anti-German and anti-papal. The Romish religion in Bohemia had long been a mere film, and there had always been adherents of the Greek theology first introduced. Reformers had found refuge in Bohemia through all the early middle ages; and the dislike of Roman domination in church affairs was fostered by avowed alliance between Rome and Germany to deprive Bohemia of her independence, both temporal and spiritual. Hence the writings of Wicliffe were received by a people who had been for centuries prepared for them. They were the spark that kindled the flame in material always combustible. Hus had been immediately preceded by two well-known reformers, and by a host of others who had never held any other doctrines than those of persons on various points opposed to the theology of Rome.

From the outset of his career the national feelings of Hus were conspicuous. He at once became the leader of a party of reformers who had at length found their opportunity.

The emperor Charles IV. founder of the university, had conferred three votes on the Bohemians, and one on the Germans. This proportion had been reversed in practice; Hus and his friends struggled to have it restored and they succeeded. The Germans grew angry. Hus was a realist, the Germans were nominalists. Hence an aggravation of personal feeling. Hus preached against the prevailing vices of the monks and clergy, as very many other preachers had done for centuries. He went further, and demanded the removal of useless ornaments from churches. Here was a mark of the inheritance left on his mind by the simple teachings of other communities. The Poles and Germans abounded in Prague when the question of votes was decided against them. The cathedral opposed the university as represented by the reforming spirit of Hus and his friends. The pope and archbishop aided the cathedral. A bull issued by John XXIII. soon afterward deposed for the worst crimes, encouraged archbishop Sbinko, and the latter burned two hundred volumes of the writings of Wicliffe that had been deposited in the palace, A. D. 1409. Hus made a spirited remonstrance, and was accused of heresy at once and summoned to Rome. His friends were not heard. He was condemned as a heretic and Prague placed under ban during his sojourn there. He quitted the city. An outbreak followed and his friends triumphed. The old national anti-Roman and anti-German spirit was vigorous. Hus returned and preached against vices and abuses still more earnestly, but still there was no assertion of any new doctrine. Political troubles between the pope and the king of Naples further aggravated the case. Hus now advanced new principles, and asserted the supremacy of conscience, or the right of private judgment as against pope and council. He was again put

under ban of Rome. Again he retired. In letters, books, and speeches he assailed the usurpations of the church since Constantine. Here was another evidence of the influence of former teachers in Bohemia and the adjoining countries, who had long denounced those very usurpations. He preached to immense crowds. The national feeling found expression again. At the suggestion of the Emperor Sigismund, the Council of Constance was convened, A. D. 1414. Hus attended under safe conduct, formal, precise and deliberately given. At first he was free. After a few days he was imprisoned in the cathedral, and then removed to the Dominican convent. An accusation was formulated but in ambiguous terms. His answers were taken down and reported. Counsel was refused. John Hoffman, who had been rector of the university, and had been driven from Prague, was now a member of the Council. The Nominalists fanned the flame against Hus, and their influence was great. No particular specification of heresy was ever made against Hus. He was condemned to the stake, and his writings ordered burned as heretical. A remonstrance was laid before the emperor on this violation of the safe conduct. Sigismund blushed. That blush saved Luther one hundred years later. The attempts made by Hus to answer were drowned in clamor; and on the 6th day of July, 1414, Hus was led to an open space near the Rhine, and burned at the stake. His ashes were cast into the Rhine; and so much care was taken to obliterate all traces of the event that the precise spot where this murder was committed is now uncertain.

The noise created in Europe by the reformed opinions and the spread of evangelical religion in Bohemia are quaintly alluded to in an old and curious tract called "Howleglas," in the Garrick collection.

MARQUIS DE VILLENA

LOPE DE BARRIENTOS, 15TH CENT.

Son of Ferdinand I. King of Aragon, and grandson of John I. of Castile the Marquis de Villena was born about A. D. 1384. He was a prince of earnest character, ambitious views, and high literary taste and culture. He stood high in favor with the court and obtained from John II. the counties or earldoms of Gungas and Tineo, and was afterward grand master of Calatrava. The sense of real merit and superiority made itself felt in his mind; and the marquis endeavored to obtain possession of the crown of Castile. A civil war ensued in which Villena was at first successful. He surprised John II. at Tordesillas, and kept him for some time in captivity. The king escaped and in his turn assailed Villena in his castle at Montalban. The marquis was beaten, and incarcerated in the fortress of Mora, and recovered his liberty only at the request of Alphonso V. of Aragon. Villena possessed a strong natural taste for science and study. He diligently collected books. The less known sciences were his especial favorites, and he thus acquired an evil reputation as a magician like many other eminent men of his age. Ignorance assailed him with rancor. Villena was sufficiently wicked to translate the *Æneid*, and his evil genius even rendered the *Divine Comedy* into Spanish. He died about 1434. The Dominican inquisitors were supreme in some parts of Spain; and about six years after the death of Villena his books and writings were condemned and burned by Lope de Barrientos, a member of that black order. Of Villena's

poetic genius there remains only one specimen: "The Gaya Ciencia." "Barrientos," says a contemporary, "liking better to walk with princes than to revise necromances, committed to the flames upwards of a hundred volumes, without having examined them any more than the king of Morocco, or understood a jot of their contents more than the dean of Ciudad Rodrigo. There are many in the present day who become learned men by pronouncing others fools and magicians; and what is worse make themselves saints by stigmatizing others as sorcerers." Barrientos was a "critic", and as good as many others of that parasitic tribe; and far better than certain "Indexers" who gaze on the outside of books, write down the titles in "My Index", and are as ignorant as imposture itself of the inside.

THE SPANISH JEWS

TORQUEMADA—13TH TO 15TH CENTURY

Since Hadrian had transferred fifty thousand Jewish families into Spain that people had prospered. Adhering to their customary policy of avoiding entanglements with real estate the Jews devoted their energies to barter and literature. Hence in Spain as in all other countries since their dispersion, while the native populations have necessarily applied themselves to the fundamental questions of national and local politics, and have spent their strength on problems of economy, building up of society, and forming constitutions, the Jews generally applied themselves solely to direct gain by means of trade. Claims of patriotism can have no force for a people without a country; and while a thousand duties necessa-

rily demand the attention of persons who have to sacrifice their own interests in the daily and hourly calls of social and municipal and religious political discussions and difficulties, the Jews have only two things to do,—to make money and look after their own community. Societies are built up for them by the toil and anxiety of other people and the Jews suck the juice out of them. In pursuit of this business the Jews early assumed a prominent position in Europe at a time when they were the only united body. There was a splendid field for the exercise of their knowledge of finance, and for them to derive advantage from their familiarity with oriental countries and oriental trade. Science was a monopoly in their hands through the barbarous destructiveness of the beggar monks and friars who had inherited and intensified the furious literary iconoclasm of popes and bishops. Only in the south of Spain, and up to 1215, in the south of France, was there any rivalry to the practical scientific knowledge possessed by the Jews, and even in those two favored regions they enjoyed a large share of the best that existed. Priests would not permit Christians to be the equals of Jews. But, under the circumstances, naturally all the knowledge and capacity of the Hebrews was converted into ready money or other property easily portable. They became the bankers of Europe. They were eminently wise in adopting this course, and they deserved the success that attended them when other people were sunk in barbarous ignorance first, and no less barbarous and far more pernicious fanaticism subsequently. Together with their Saracen cousins, the Jews long educated their Visigothic neighbors, who eventually succeeded in extending their ancient power over the lovely provinces of Spain. Andalusia, Valencia, Murcia were mastered. The cities and

castles erected by Saracen science and adorned with Saracen taste are still, after many centuries of mighty progress elsewhere, the only evidences of scientific skill in social life in those delightful regions.

Unhappily, among the Jews themselves, there had sprung up an impatience of secular learning; and that impatience spread through all sects and all nationalities in Europe. This revolution represented the perpetual conflict between reason and imagination. The exercise of the latter when separated from the former, and divorced from the chastening power of material facts, constitutes a mental intoxication which has overpowered all mankind in different ages. The sweet potency of imaginative delusions possesses a fantastic intellectual charm which steals away men's judgment. It is the weak side of the human mind. Unhappily the fierce spirit created by ages of national conflict, added to the inherited but most illogical hatred extended to the Jews as the authors of the death of Jesus, created a ferocity of feeling which produced most painful scenes when at length the success of the Spaniards over the Moors became assured at the opening of the fifteenth century. This feeling lost no force as the century rolled away. Opportunity for its gratification rather added to its intensity. This result was greatly strengthened by the relentless, cruel spirit of the Dominican inquisitors. They deepened the general detestation against the Jews; although if the Jews or somebody else had not killed Jesus where would the priests' trade be? If the death of Jesus had not afforded a foundation for the office of sacrificing priest, while the noble duties of preacher and teacher must remain, yet neither monk nor pope would have a place. These persons ought rather to have thanked the Jews for creating their opportunity.

"It is a good thing that there are heathen, said a missionary once to the writer, "or there could be no missionaries." That missionary was shrewd in his generation.

When the fall of the Saracen power at length deprived the Hebrews of all friendly alliance and shelter, the full force of the long felt animosity struck them down. Men of pitiless temper were the inquisitors; and chief among the most sanguinary was Torquemada, head inquisitor of Spain, A. D. 1490. Under the influence of the narrow ideas then prevalent the study of Greek and Hebrew was regarded in centres of learning as inimical to religion; and that view was openly promulgated by the faculty of theology of Paris a century later. Heresy was supposed to be concealed under classical alphabets, and sorcery and association with the evil one lurked behind every tongue unknown to vulgar ecclesiastics. Hence Hebrew bibles were at once an object of hatred as belonging to Jews, and of suspicion as being composed in a mysterious language. "Omne ignotum pro malefico" became a theological principle, or at least an ecclesiastical practical axiom. We are not surprised then that in A. D. 1490, Hebrew bibles were publicly burned by Torquemada; and soon afterward six thousand volumes of oriental literature were destroyed at Salamanca during a public auto da fe. At that period the University of Salamanca, founded in 1239, was crowded with students. It is not surprising that the same institution has long declined. The animating spirit of the place seems to have created a dearth of mind rather than the contrary.

About the same time that all these books were burned Pedro de Osma, and Antonio Lebrixa became obnoxious on account of their literary attainments and efforts. The

former was a professor of theology at Salamanca in 1479, and he employed his talents in correcting some errors that had crept into copies of the New Testament in the original text, and critically collated the different manuscripts. He displayed also some freedom on doctrinal points. He was forced to abjure certain propositions on the power of the pope; and his book on confession was condemned as erroneous at the council of Alcalá. Lebrixa wrote several works illustrative of the scriptures. For this he was brought before the Inquisition. His papers were seized by Deza, archbishop of Seville, who had succeeded Torquemada as inquisitor. Sentence was passed against him, as a person suspected of heresy, for the corrections he had made in the text of the Vulgate, and his other literary labors. "The archbishop's object," says Lebrixa in his apology, "was to deter me from writing. He wished to extinguish the knowledge of the two languages on which our religion depends; and I was condemned for impiety because being no divine but a mere grammarian I presumed to treat of theological subjects. If a person undertake to restore the purity of the sacred text, and point out the mistakes that have vitiated it, unless he will retract his opinions he must be loaded with infamy, excommunicated, and doomed to an ignominious punishment! Is it not enough that I submit my judgment to the will of Christ in the scriptures? Must I also reject as false what is clear and evident as the light of truth itself? What tyranny! To hinder a man under the most cruel pains from saying what he thinks, though he express himself with the utmost respect for religion! To forbid him to write in his closet or in the solitude of a prison! To speak to himself or even to think! On what subject shall we employ our thoughts if we are prohibited from

directing them to those sacred oracles which have been the delight of the pious in every age, and on which they have meditated by day and by night." The idea of two languages or three according to some saints, being invested with the peculiar quality of expressing the gospel by right divine was then and had long been very prevalent, and almost official at Rome. The memorable rescript of John VIII. to the Bohemians can be again here profitably referred to.

GRANADA

XIMENES, 15TH CENT.

After centuries of conflict the year 1492, heard "the last sigh of the Moor" at the surrender of Granada. Abdallah was dethroned and Ferdinand and Isabella reigned in his beautiful halls which have been a wonder to them and their successors ever since.

Under the conditions formally established on both sides, free exercise of religion was guaranteed to the fallen; they were subject to their own laws and cadis; and should be unmolested in usages, language and dress. Property was to be respected. Taxes were remitted for three years. King Abdallah was to rule a specified territory, and do homage therefor; and on these stipulations the fortress of Granada was surrendered, and the silver cross of Ferdinand gleamed from the red towers of the Alhambra. During eight years tranquillity reigned among the Mosaic population of Granada. But a desire to reduce the Moors to a conformity with the Spaniards in religious profession occasioned proceedings which created strong feeling. Gentle measures were at first

adopted to effect the conversion of the Moors. Cardinal Ximenes then archbishop of Toledo became urgent for the rapid completion of this change. His methods were enticing and many persons accepted his terms at least professedly. Eloquence and largesses created their usual results. But some of the Moslems displeased at the defection of their people urged resistance. Ximenes was filled with ardor in his enterprise, and exhibited a resolution to trample on the treaty in order to effect his purpose. A learned Moor named Zegri was arrested and imprisoned and his submission followed. Then Ximenes perpetrated an act which has covered him with ignominy.

Granada contained great numbers of Arabic manuscripts, on various subjects of theology and science, many if not all of them beautifully executed, illuminated and bound in that style of superior excellence in which the Moors were unrivaled in any other part of the world at that time. But beauty of execution, or learning or literary value of contents availed nothing in the eyes of the relentless zealot Ximenes. All the Arabic manuscripts procurable, except three hundred works reserved for the University of Alcala were piled in one great heap, in one of the great squares of Granada and consigned to indiscriminate destruction. The works destroyed amounted to eighty thousand according to the most reasonable computation. The dispersion of the Moors necessarily caused the loss of many other volumes.

The example of the archbishop must have been followed by his subordinates on every opportunity. The fallen people made great exertions to save a remnant of their literature. Numbers retired to Fez, and many thousand volumes were hurriedly conveyed thither, and remained in that city for a long time afterward. A collection of three thousand manuscripts belonging to one

person was conveyed to Algiers, whither they were successfully removed in secret. "The archbishop" says Prescott, "might find some countenance for his fanaticism in the most polite capital of Europe." The faculty of theology of Paris some few years later declared "que c'en est fait de la religion si on permettait l'étude de Grec et de l'Hebreu. 'It is all over with religion if the study of Greek and Hebrew be permitted.'" Villers, "Essai sur l'esprit et l'influence de la reformation de Luther," (Paris 1820, p. 64.) Note.

Of the vast literature collected in Spain during the eight centuries of Moorish residence only a remnant now exists. This literature represented the best mind of mankind for a period of two thousand years, on all subjects which had engaged men's attention. Philosophy, astronomy, mechanics, agriculture, geography, medicine, rhetoric, grammar, navigation, zoology, government, manners, polity, poetry, romance, chivalry, history, and every other subject of investigation or speculation had been treated of either directly by Moorish, Jewish, and Christian thinkers, or mediately through translations of ancient authors. The mind of Greece, and of Rome, of Africa, and of Syria, of England and France and Italy and the islands was reflected in the literary mirror held up freely and abundantly in the libraries of the Moors. The destroyers of that magnificent mirror have left in Spain only a dreary void. More recent scholars have endeavored to fill the space, and have partially succeeded. But there is yet and will always remain a vast blank, from which a mind eager for knowledge will turn away with loathing and with grief.

It may be proper here to say a word respecting the claim very loudly made on behalf of Cardinal Ximenes, that he was a munificent patron and promoter of learning,

on account of the liberal patronage extended by him toward the preparation and publication of the great work which he designed,—the Complutensian Polyglot. This truly great and meritorious work was commenced in 1502, completed in 1517, and published March 22, 1520, in six volumes folio. It was an edition of the entire Bible in various languages. The Old Testament contained the Hebrew text, the Vulgate, or edition of Jerome, and the Greek Septuagint, arranged in three columns. At the foot of each page of the Pentateuch was printed the Chaldee paraphrase of Onkelos, with a Latin translation. The New Testament contained the Greek, and the Vulgate Latin. To the whole was appended a grammar and dictionary of the Hebrew language, and a Greek lexicon. This laborious and expensive undertaking was never designed by Ximenes to encourage popular thought or education. It was a secluded and learned work, intended for the learned. Its publication was contemporary with the most dreadful denunciations published and cruelly enforced all over Christendom by Ximenes himself and all the other agents of Rome against all persons who devoted themselves to liberal thought and education. How many people have ever seen a copy of the great and costly Polyglot? In the opinion of Ximenes himself the sacred oracles were not to be entrusted at all to the people at large. To place them in the hands of newly initiated was, in his judgment to throw pearls before swine. Even experienced Christians were not to be entrusted with these treasures. The vulgar he said were in danger of wresting the Scriptures to their destruction. It was his opinion that the wisest nation had always kept the mysteries of religion concealed, only such books as were written by men of approved piety might be safely circulated in the vulgar tongue; and of

course Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, Paul, James and Peter were not such men. The cardinal promised to provide books of approved piety; and they consisted of the lives of monastic zealots, and other books of a similar kind removed as far as possible from subjects of practical instruction in those sciences that enable persons to apply their education to improve their condition in life, those practical arts, and instructive sciences that build up the temporal condition of a people. The books supplied by the Cardinal are neither literary "fish, flesh, nor fowl nor even good red herring", so far as mental food is concerned.

Even from a theological point of view, the rescript of Pope John VIII. might have furnished Ximenes with valuable suggestions. It was addressed to Swatopluk Duke of Moravia, and contains this memorable passage: "Finally we justly praise the Slavonian characters invented by the philosopher Constantine, in which the praise due to God is sung, and we require the proclamation of Christ our God and his works to be declared in the same language; for we are admonished by the same authority to praise the Lord not only in three but in all languages, in the words 'Praise the Lord all nations, and laud him all ye people.' And the apostles being filled with the Holy Spirit 'declared in all tongues the wonderful works of God.' We are likewise admonished on this subject in the first epistle to the Corinthians, in plain terms, that 'speaking tongues' we should build the Church of God. Nor is there anything opposed to sound faith or doctrine in singing the mass or in reading the sacred gospel, or the divine selections from the Old and New Testament well translated and interpreted, and in singing the other regular-offices, since he who made three principal tongues, Hebrew, Greek and Latin, also created

all others to his praise and glory." Louvain, Paris, Ximenes, and many others thought proper to close their eyes to that sound advice when the time came that gave them power to do so. Pope John's principles were deliberately trampled on in Bohemia itself, although the rescript above quoted was formally appealed to. The representation of the apostles speaking in all tongues is the promulgation of a mighty principle and it has prevailed to the confusion of such as Ximenes. It was Christian official authority in favor of universal literature.

Charlemagne had become familiar with the superstition concerning the three languages which was prevalent in his time. At the council of Frankfort convened under his direction according to well established imperial precedent in 794, he effected several important reforms. He forbade monks from interfering in magisterial matters, and interdicted priests from haunting taverns. Abbots were peremptorily restrained from mutilating their monks, a crime that was openly recompensed by Gregory VII. even long subsequently. Charlemagne forbade the making of new saints, and published a special canon against the foolish superstition concerning three languages. "Let no one believe" he ordained, "that a man can pray to God in only three languages: God accepts men's prayers in every tongue, if the petition ask what is proper."

The great emperor was himself familiar with several languages besides his own at least so far as to be able to read them with facility and intelligence. He was acquainted with Latin and Greek, and that the Scriptures in the vernacular as well as in the original were not strangers to him, is seen by the fact that the day before his death he was occupied in correcting the Greek text

of the gospels with the aid of Greek and Syrian scholars. His French grammar was the first in the language. The great emperor's edict to the bishops is the Magna Charta of modern literature.

FLORENCE

SAVONAROLA, 15TH CENT.

The Mediceo Laurentian library was commenced by Cosimo de Medici. Books in those ages possessed such high value that very many princes and nobles, poets and philosophers aspired to be founders of libraries. Lorenzo de Medici continued and greatly enlarged the collection begun by Cosmo. Books and manuscripts were procured wherever procurable; and the Florentine prince merchant freely devoted his time, talents and fortune to the work. His country had not yet, however, been educated to apprehend the national and economic value of books. After the expulsion of Pietro when the French army under Charles VIII. approached Florence, anarchy prostrated the city. The library was plundered chiefly on account of the pecuniary value of the books. A portion was preserved by the authorities, but this collection was subsequently sold to the Dominicans of St. Mark. A still older and separate collection of 800 volumes had been committed to the care of the Dominicans by Cosmo, and the two were now united in the same hands.

In 1497, Savonarola was supreme in Florence for a short time. With all his great aspirations the reformatory dreams of Savonarola were somewhat Utopian, and he was not a man of the world. His ardor and his honesty were commendable; his zeal did not sufficiently

distinguish. With indiscreet profusion the books accumulated with labor and expense were partly distributed as presents, but many others were dragged forth with contumely and committed to the flames in the public square; Boccaccios, Petrarchs and others equally choice, in rich bindings and illuminations became a blazing *auto da fe*. For Savonarola it can only be said that he would have been almost more than human had he risen above the governing principle in his church at that time. While books were multiplied indeed and preserved by popes and friars they were exclusively of one literary complexion; and as only volumes issuing from the cloister and imbued with its spirit were regarded as Christian, and only Christian books ought to be read, we cannot wonder that Savonarola did not spare the library of his adversaries, especially that which seemed the unsanctified portion of it. The wild reformatory frenzy of the hour forgot all distinctions. Savonarola's act was intrinsically different from the premeditated fury of cardinals and friars against books and literature, as exhibited at Toulouse, Paris and London. The boy reformers or "young inquisitors" were to fulfil the duties of the older resident magistrates. Blasphemy, gambling, cards, dice, and gaudily dressed women were all denounced under this new zeal for virtue in the republic. "They forced themselves into houses and seized on cards, chess boards, harps, lutes, perfumes, mirrors, masks, books of poems, and other instruments of perdition." Under the influence of the same feelings, "Petrarchs inlaid with gold, and adorned with illuminations, Boccaccios of such beauty and rarity as would drive modern bibliographers out of their surviving senses" were condemned together with marble busts of exquisite workmanship, some

ancient; some of the well known beauties of the day, obviously as things of vanity.

As the fire soared there was a burst of chants, lauds and the Te Deum to the sound of trumpets and the clanging of bells. It was all a zeal in behalf of virtue and piety and not a crusade against literature. Still it was a barbarous devotional revel. Savonarola's crusade spread a literary darkness over Italy for more than two centuries.

MALABAR

DON ALEXIO DE MENEZES, JOSEPH DE STA MARIA
B. C. to A. D. 1599

The trade with India for which Solomon built Tadmor had been established long before his time. He provided an entrepot for the benefit of Palestine.

During the long period of republican Rome the oriental nations had carried on active barter not only among themselves but with Africa and southeastern Europe. Persia and India were necessarily connected, and from the head of the Red Sea, as well as the mouth of the Indus regular traffic was maintained with western India, Ceylon and China. The feat performed by Nearchus in conveying a Grecian fleet from the Indies to the Persian Gulf, while new to the Greeks could have been only an imitation of similar voyages habitual to the maritime people of those regions. The successful venture of Hippalus from Bab el Mandeb across to India, instead of creeping round the coast was one voyage in the regular traffic carried on between the East and the Abyssinian and Arabian coasts as far as the modern Suez by Egypt-

ian and other native craft. The Chinese were familiar with both routes and Ceylon had been for ages a meeting point for their ships and those from the west; and it was here that pearls from Coromandel, and the peculiar spices of Malabar were received by western ships from coast traders. Junks had regularly performed voyages both to the Persian gulf and the Red sea. The Romans, as is clear not only from direct history but from the ideas they learned in the later ages of the republic, were acquainted with China, and had obtained commodities from thence. The Romans also learned the method of computation by the abacus from the Chinese. Palestine was influenced by India trade, by India history and Vedantism. In these voyages to the Red Sea the port of Aden figured conspicuously until attacked and destroyed by Trajan's fleet. After that date the voyages of the junks were less frequent, but did not wholly cease until the appearance of the Portuguese. Their voyages to the strait of Ormuz and the gulf continued during many centuries of the Christian Era. Marcus Antoninus despatched an embassy by land to Oun-ti who ruled over China, A. D. 166. The benefits of the India trade were conspicuous to Alexander in founding his capital on the Nile; and his successors the Ptolemies greatly improved and extended the traffic. The warehouses of Alexandria abounded with Indian and Chinese wealth, and natives from all Asia were busy in her marts. Jewish colonies had been spread over Asia, and in many parts of Africa, since the destruction of the first temple if not before. They followed the established course of trade down the Red Sea. They had flourishing cities, and kings at various points, and especially at Aden where a Hebrew cemetery still attests their former numbers and power. Through Persia also the Jews had penetrated to India,

and a colony of Jews had long subsisted at Bombay, but became mingled with the natives through isolation after the crusades. Colonies of Jews were very early established on the Malabar coast, and survive at Cochin, known as the white and the black Jews to this day. Up to the age of Mahomed Jews and Christians were numerous and powerful in Arabia, being composed largely of refugees from the persecutions of Assyrians first, then of Romans. To both these classes Mahomed accorded not only toleration, but especial privileges. The rise of Nestorianism among the Christians exiled great numbers of that sect and drove them among the Christian communities of the east. The Greek colonies of Persia and Socotra received the Christian faith and long maintained it. From the seventh to the ninth century the Christians of Socotra chiefly maintained themselves by piracy, a proof that trade down the Red Sea was not only customary but considerable. Mesopotamia, Persia, India, Ceylon, China, and Tartary heard the Nestorian principles with acceptance. The restoration of Magianism in the third century of our era, and the subsequent quarrels between the empires of Persia and Rome eventually led to the destruction of Antioch, and other cities of Nestorian doctrine, and great numbers migrated. In these wanderings during the early ages both the Jews and Christians took their manuscript books, both of parchment and goat skin with them; priceless treasures of an age immediately subsequent to the apostolic.

The Christian books were in the Syriac language, long cultivated in Mesopotamia, and still surviving in the remote community on the coast of Malabar. It is possible that the people of Antioch possessed manuscripts of the very first age. "The disciples were called Christians

first at Antioch." Any one of these books would now confer celebrity on any library or university.

Alexandria under Roman rule maintained her commerce with the East, and Egyptian ships visited the coast made more familiar to them by Nearchus. The Persians had always been averse to maritime affairs, and their trade to India was overland, but it was extensive and profitable. Christians visited their brethren in India both from Alexandria and Persia, and some of these visits have been retained in memory. The council of Nice, A. D. 325, was attended by Johannes Metropolitan of Persia, and of Great India which was then and still is an Episcopal dependency on the patriarchate of Mesopotamia.

The war between Ardeshir and Alexander Severus led to closer connexion between Persia and India by land. From this date the Persians acquired a maritime preponderance in the gulf, and their trade with India from the Euphrates was well established. About this period a considerable accession of numbers was received by the church of Malabar, and persons of wealth and learning were found among them. They also acquired much more consideration in the country, and ranked among the higher classes. At this period their organization was very flourishing. They had many churches and priests, and a metropolitan ordained and consecrated in Babylon, and regular liturgical services, and long used Christian observances quite distinct from any doctrine or influence of any kind direct or indirect from Rome. They were a primitive apostolic church with formularies, a creed, and an organization on the type of the earliest age. Their apostolic lineage was clear, and without a break. They had many books, a pure Syriac language, and a clergy well capable of performing their duties.

They occupied a most distinguished, dignified and honorable position in the Christian world. The Christian communities at Socotra and other possessions on the Red Sea became somewhat isolated, and their distinctiveness declined with the dissolution of the Roman empire.

During the sixth century the condition of the Malabar Church was clearly announced to Europe by Cosmas, styled Indicopleustes, from his Indian travels. A. D. 547, this voyager, a merchant of Alexandria, and a Nestorian, published an account of his journeys, and although his geography and astronomy are tinged with oriental ideas, long adopted by the western church, and upheld on the severest penalties,—that the earth is flat, and surrounded on the edges by mountains, yet the details of his own experiences were always known to be correct, and to be sustained by other authorities. This author visited Malabar and Ceylon.

He says, "There is in the island of Taprobane"—corrupted by the Greeks from Tubber-a-purney—or the island of springs, now known as Ceylon,—“in the furthest India, in the Indian sea, a Christian Church with clergymen and believers. I do not know whether there are any Christians beyond this island. In the Malabar country also, where pepper grows, there are Christians; and at Calliana as they call it”—now Quilon—“there is a bishop who comes from Persia where he was consecrated.” By that date the current of trade had been diverted toward Persia, and this community was but little known in Egypt. Evidently Cosmas himself considered he had made a discovery. Doctrines like epidemics follow the course of trade. But the Christians of Malabar must have been visited since the council of Nice, and an unbroken connection must have subsisted be-

tween them and Persia because they were Nestorians at the date of the visit of Cosmas. A number of Nestorian refugees had probably settled there, and built churches in association with the community already established. The words of Cosmas also show that the bishops all came from Persia.

The irruption of the Moslems created a separation between the east and west not restored for nearly nine hundred years. During that period, however, the Syrians of Malabar regularly communicated with the parent church at Babylon and Mosul, and their bishops were consecrated by the Catholicos, or metropolitan at the latter city. During the eighth century the Syrians seem to have been associated with the see of Seleucia, but to what extent is not ascertained. At various periods the Nestorian, Jacobite, and Monophysite influences found representatives and followers in Malabar. But direct communication was held by them only with a community of kindred origin either at Mosul, Cairo, Seleucia, or Antioch. They had never been even known to Rome. Nestorian principles predominated, and ultimately replaced the others. The fame of the Christian Church in India reached England in the ninth century; and Alfred the Great despatched an embassy to them under Suithelm bishop of Shireburn. The bishop returned bringing some pearls and spices, the peculiar product of the two regions in India,—Malabar and Coromandel where Christians were earliest settled.

The knowledge of Asia was almost wholly concealed from Europeans by the Moslems until about A.D. 1425, when Marco Polo described India, China and Ceylon with some particularity. He traveled in those countries very extensively. Although some Arabian geographers wrote of the east, previous to Marco Polo, yet the pre-

judice against all their writings shut Europe out effectually from knowledge of the most valuable kind. The capture of Constantinople, and the expulsion of the Genoese and Venetians from their eastern territories completed the isolation of Europe. But Jewish and Arabic literature had been diffused through portions of Spain, and many of their books had met the eyes of inquirers and speculators. Students of philosophy like Ibn Roshd, Ibn Sabin, Roger Bacon, and others had doubted and then denied the prevailing notions as to the earth's shape, and position in the universe. Especially the rotundity of the earth which had been long known to Jews and Arabs, and taught in their schools by globes led to geographical speculations. Mariners explored the coast of Africa, discovered the Cape; and at length Vasco de Gama, A. D. 1492, landed at Calicut on the coast of Malabar. The voyage of Cabral revealed the Christian Church in that region, and it at once attracted attention. Monks and friars were despatched to Goa the Portuguese chief city. Attempts were made by the Franciscans about A. D. 1545, and subsequently by the Jesuits to unite the Syrian Church with Rome but to no purpose. The usual title of the Syrian bishop is Mar; and the prelate presiding over the Malabar Church, A. D. 1587, was Mar Joseph who had been consecrated at Mosul. This prelate was treacherously seized by the Jesuits, and sent a prisoner to Rome in a Portuguese ship. He returned having made promises to the Pope, which were clearly exacted under duress. Meantime the Syrians had obtained another bishop from Mosul. The Jesuits endeavored to arrest him, but he traveled in disguise. When Mar Joseph and the new bishop Mar Abraham were both in Malabar a division of interests became very pernicious. The Jesuits were disgusted at

Mar Joseph's return from Europe; and he was subsequently sent again a prisoner to Rome and died there, mysteriously as many other obnoxious foreign prelates and priests had died. The intrigues of the Portuguese priests with the native chiefs, and the terror they inspired, together with the dissensions created among their churches grievously oppressed the Syrians who were wholly innocent of all wrong to either party. Another young bishop, Mar Simeon, arrived from Mosul. He was treacherously persuaded to go to Rome and obtain letters that would put an end to all disputes. He went; was imprisoned in a Franciscan convent at Lisbon and never returned. No one knows how or when he died, mysteriously. The only remaining dignitary was George the archdeacon. The coasts were all watched by the Portuguese, and no bishop could hope to arrive from Mosul. At length, A. D. 1595, Don Alexio de Menezes arrived at Goa as archbishop. Then commenced a long series of persecutions against the archdeacon. Menezes bribed the native chiefs to assist him, that is the heathen petty rajahs who are numerous in that region still. He went accompanied by a guard of Portuguese troops, and the Syrians became the objects of unremitting tyranny. Menezes with the myrmidons of his dragonnade visited the churches in succession. The archdeacon was repeatedly required to appear before him, and abjure his creed. A Portuguese college was established and the tendency of Asiatics to treachery and dissimulation was encouraged among the servants of the native chiefs. Divisions were fostered and parties created. The churches were subjected for four years to a series of harrassing visitations. An ordination of native priests was held by Menezes, and a new see projected by Rome formally organized. The Syrians were deserted by their

former rulers, and assailed by both parties. Left without a bishop through the treachery of the Jesuits, who had imprisoned two even after safe conduct given, still the church steadfastly resisted. At length A. D. 1599, the dreadful hour arrived. Menezes held a synod at Diamper, and the decrees were all drawn up by himself beforehand. At this synod at Diamper not far from Cochin, June 20, 1599, Menezes in the full exercise of his barbarous persistence of persecution had all the Syrian manuscripts that could be procured collected in one great heap and burned. These books were all Christian and were of priceless value. Subsequently Menezes proceeded on a visitation, and in due course reached Angamalé. Here were three Syrian churches, one dedicated to the Nestorian saint Hormisdas. The ancient archives of the community were also preserved at this place, a literature of the most profound interest. Here all books and manuscripts of every sort were violently seized from their owners who were in no way subject to Menezes, and piled into one great heap and consigned to ashes. During the same visitation Menezes proceeded to Cranganore another very important Syrian settlement in the north of Malabar, and there again the same barbarism was repeated. All the Christian books, of every age, and many no doubt of the greatest Christian antiquity and veneration, were indiscriminately burned and destroyed. The priceless records and archives of the most interesting Christian family in the world inhumanly blotted out by a frantic fanatic in the treacherous guise of a Christian ambassador! The sun has never set on so wanton a scene of barbarism before or since, or on a more mischievous act of malicious persecution. Menezes returned to Portugal; was promoted, but eventually, like Pilate died in disgrace, the wanton badness of

the man not being able to conceal itself even among kindred, and in a position of honor. After his death Rome despatched other bishops; but the Syrians reasserted their independence through a large portion of their country. Roman rites were discontinued, and the Cattanars or Syrian priests again assumed their original functions and dress. The Jesuits have diligently concealed the history of events in Malabar, until the arrival of the Dutch on the coast changed the current of public affairs, and broke the power of the Jesuits and the inquisition at Goa. In 1656, the Syrians being shut out from Persia by the Portuguese settlements and cruisers, consecrated a bishop—Thomas already archdeacon. Three years later Joseph de Sta Maria was appointed by Rome as bishop of Hierapolis, a new title. This man arrived in India in April, 1661, and forthwith proceeded to domineer over the Syrian bishop. This prelate was pursued by native soldiers, and surrounded in the church where he lived; but he escaped by night, greatly to the vexation of the Roman invader. Not being able to find the bishop in person whom he doomed to the inquisition Joseph de Sta Maria seized the chattels belonging to the Syrian ecclesiastic, in the latter's own private dwelling, including his books. The next day he proceeded to Diamper, and having celebrated mass he had a large fire built in front of the church, and the Syrian books were thrown into it and burned. The oils also used in the consecration of bishop Mar Thomas were also burned, and his palanquin and a few other chattels. Here was the very meanest point of malicious venom against a person who was in no way directly or indirectly subordinate to Rome,—who had never been so subordinate. His house was broken into by a foreign burglar, and ransacked, and his property and that of his church

publicly burned, in gratification of paltry spitefulness. Menezes was a brigand of large size; Sta Maria was a sneak thief.

BUDA

TURKS, SOLYMAN—16TH CENTURY

The most prominent hero of the fifteenth century in the fierce contest against the Turks was John Hunyadi. He died in 1456, having long been Protector of Hungary. His eldest son was executed by Ladislaus Posthumus, chiefly through dynastic jealousy. But on the death of this prince, childless in 1458, Matthias Hunyadi, second son of John, was elected king by acclamation. This monarch deserves the name of an enlightened prince; but his fame would stand higher if he had resisted the importunities of ecclesiastics to lend his power for the destruction of the Hussites.

Personally the king's tastes were regal, and were exhibited in the splendid library he collected at Ofen,—Buda. Many Greek scholars were still wandering through Europe, and from these persons Matthias obtained works on philosophy, history, and poetry. His munificence employed thirty amanuenses, and illuminators of books. The works thus prepared were in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Arabic. They were deposited in two splendid chambers of the palace at Ofen, and numbered fifty-five thousand volumes in print and manuscript. An expense of 33,000 gulden was incurred every year in maintaining the library and its dependencies. These books were preserved by his successor. But the war with Solyman the magnificent, involved the total defeat

of the Hungarian army under Lewis II. at Mohacs in 1526. The fall of Ofen completed Solyman's conquest; and the entire library was savagely pillaged and destroyed by the Turks.

Perhaps the ancient and modern statuary that adorned the chambers, stimulated the iconoclastic zeal of the Moslems. The last eminent reviser associated with this library, was the celebrated Felix of Ragusa, a renowned Greek, Latin, Hebrew and Arabic scholar. The Turks never were respecters of books; and the Moslem mind had long imbibed a fanatical aversion to all knowledge outside the Koran.

FEZ

7TH TO 15TH CENTURY

The city of Fez attained great renown as a centre of manufactures and trade soon after the Moslem conquest of North Africa. Its sovereigns of the Ommyade dynasty rivaled those of Bagdad and Cordova in splendor and mental activity. During many centuries Fez was a celebrated seat of learning, containing many schools and colleges. After the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, Fez was still in the possession of strength, wealth and renown. Many refugees retreated thither; and the city became the most important in the Moslem world next to Constantinople. The isolation of North Africa, however gradually spread obscurity over the mart of Fez; and its activity and power declined. Associated with the lust of conquest, and especially when confronted with idolatry Islamism created an enthusiasm in the minds of its votaries which spurred them vitally and

urged them far. But when left to itself, to the slow operation of its own self-corrosion, there was not enough vitality in it to create a civilization or to sustain one when obtained from without.

The cry "There is one God and Mahomed is the prophet of God" may stimulate to frenzy the fanaticism of a proselyte, but will never confer or invite the varied knowledge necessary to build up the economies of a nation. Its direct tendency is to destroy them. Fatalism, the logical conclusion from the Moslem's premises, included within one cry, and cancerous vices which necessarily seize on a strong people left destitute of the detailed sciences necessary to call their varied faculties into active employment, sapped the energies of the Moslems. Fez was eaten hollow by the devouring force of her own solitary idea. The restless capacities of men, and the multiplying needs of a large population, who are all thinkers more or less, require for their nourishment and support the richness derived from a thousand sources. All the diversified sciences of modern times are scarcely sufficient now to meet the needs of populations. Science has become an imperative duty, in order that the ceaseless demands of life and activity may find opportunity and satisfaction. Without science, and the fearless spirit of original investigation other peoples also will stagnate like the Moslems.

While Fez subsists and enjoys some trade, the red morocco leather of commerce being its distinctive production, and also the Fez cap of modern Islam, it is no longer a place of wealth. The slow and unintermittent operation of the peculiar aversion of the Moslem mind to interference with the effects of the corroding tooth of time and of the elements which they interpret as the will of Allah, has prostrated the heart and intellect of the

people. Their former literary spirit has long lain fallow in neglect, and this same barrenness has spread to the early disposition toward the preservation of the embodiment of learning in books. Their old treasures of literature have succumbed to time and apathy. A very small remnant of their vast store now remains. During the fifteenth century Fez possessed the greatest library in the world; but the glory has departed. Now it is only evidenced by some poor memorials that still attest the extent of former grandeur, like fragments of sculptured columns and arches, that at once announce a might and a nobility of long ago, and furnish hiding places for noxious reptiles, and a soil for rank and poisonous weeds.

CONSTANTINOPLE

MAHOMED II.—15TH CENTURY

The actual condition of Constantinople with respect to its possession of the literary works of the ancients at the date of its conquest by Mahomed II. in 1453, is a subject of much interest. It has been already stated that a large share of one of the libraries of the Greek capital had been by treaty transferred to Bagdad by the Emperor Michael III. The Mahomedan mind preferred science to poetry, and translations of Homer and other imaginative writers into the sacred Arabic were early forbidden. The number of manuscripts transferred must have been large, because Al Mamun brought books into Bagdad not only by the camel load but in loads of many camels at a time. This fact would indicate the possession of books in large numbers by the persons from whom

the agents procured them. Nowhere else did they then exist in large collections but in Constantinople.

It is extremely probable that the statement of some writers, that Michael III. transferred one of the libraries of his empire to Bagdad, is at least substantially correct. The remainder were lamentably reduced by the fury of the Latin crusaders in 1203-1204; and yet a large remnant still existed in the city. The growth of the theological spirit reduced the number of classical students, but of these there were always a chosen few. During the reign of Leo the Isaurian, large diminutions of books took place, and many volumes appear to have passed into private hands. Copyists there always were, although in decreasing numbers. The confusion at the period of the Latin conquest and subsequent to the recovery of the city caused still more ravages in the public collections of books. As the peril from the Turks became more alarming, Greek scholars transferred what books they possessed to other cities. Many found their way to Italy. These persons usually landed at Venice; but the republic was neglectful of them and they passed on to Florence, then the light of Italy. Even the tradition of Greek learning had been long lost. "*Græca sunt ergo non legenda*," became a proverb among the ignorant scribes. "They are Greek and therefore must not be read." The mission of Manuel Chrysoloras by the Emperor Palæologus, to Italy, to revive the enthusiasm of christendom against the Turk was a happy event for the western world. Chrysoloras enjoyed the fame of being the most eminent Hellenist of his age; and his companion, Demetrios Kydonios, was worthy of him. The society and conversation of Chrysoloras awakened enthusiasm for the learning he represented. He was induced to accept a chair in the university of Florence. A

stipend of 250 golden florins was voted for him, and the culture of Greek became established in Italy. He opened schools in Rome, Padua, Milan, and Venice; and many of the foremost scholars of the day imbibed the taste for Greek literature and the expanding life of poetic, philosophic, scientific, political and social freedom and nobleness, and truth to nature that are associated with it. Hence it has been and still is hated by Rome; but loved, cultivated and honored by every free and self-reliant people. Any proposal to expel the study of Greek wholly from public academies is a mark of ignorant barbarism. The impulse communicated to Greek literature through Chrysoloras was very great. Letters grew mightily after the knowledge of Greek, intermitted for seven centuries, was revived. Systems based on ignorance and superstition made way before it. The mental horizon of mankind was widened. Every branch of study was quickened by the mental activity thus created. New hypotheses in science, and especially in astronomy were formulated which led to the discovery of America. A new sense of the beautiful in art and literature was revived; and in the language of a sober philosopher, "except the blind forces of nature nothing moves in this world which is not Greek in its origin." The contact effected by Chrysoloras and the intellect of the West was of momentous import in the progress of civilization.

From that date the collection of Greek manuscripts became a passion. Scholars visited Byzantium continually for the purchase of books, and large numbers of volumes were transferred to Western Europe, but only enough to stimulate appetite, not to satisfy it.

In 1423, Giovanni Aurispa returned to Italy with two hundred and thirty-eight codices; and Guarino of Verona, and Francesco Filelfo, both arrived with large

numbers. Guarino lost part of his book treasure, and his hair whitened with grief. These three scholars examined the libraries of Constantinople for many years before the fall of that city, and it is hardly probable that many works of value escaped them. The avidity of every city in Italy, of many cities in Germany and elsewhere to possess Greek books, became unappeasable. The Florentines enjoyed especial opportunities, and they eagerly employed them.

The Byzantines were ready to sell, and the Florentines and others to purchase; and it is probable that not a large proportion of ancient Greek literature remained in Constantinople in 1453.

Many of the Greeks attributed the decrease of books among them to the fanaticism of the priests.

However true this may be of the neglect shown to the ancient learning, no archimandrite or metropolitan ever exhibited such unrelenting hatred to classical literature as Gregory, or such ignorance of it as Adrian VI. The Greeks deplored the loss of one hundred and twenty thousand manuscripts destroyed or scattered during the confusion of the conquest, and many of these were, no doubt, modern medieval works. But there was no war made expressly against the libraries. A ducat would purchase ten volumes, and these might be the entire works of Aristotle or Homer! At such a moment soldiers do not wait to haggle for trifles, or to apportion prices to ordinary mercantile value.

The losses in classical Greek literature may be more justly attributed to the earlier ages of the Heracleian and Isaurian dynasties, when bigotry and contempt of letters stained the Roman purple, and the fanaticism of the priests devoted antiquity to oblivion. The literary apathy which their fatalist creed has engendered in

the Turks, has spread decay over their empire. Their slow death has yielded no occasion for a revival of learning in any part of their dominions. Everything has sunk in the same decay. Uncertainty in political and social affairs discourages the quiet pursuit of knowledge which needs security for its development. Books in the Turkish Empire have shared in the general dilapidation.

JOHN OF WESEL

DIETHEN VON ISENBURG. GERARD VON ALTEN

A. D. 1479

During the fifteenth century the decline of scholasticism kept pace with the growth of experimental religion in Germany. The brethren and sisters of the free spirit still constituted one of the most important of the communities or fraternities that promoted the ruins of the scholastic system. Their numbers were great, and their diffusion was conterminous almost with the confines of Europe. In this fraternity arose many eminent men, and deep thinkers,—men among the best the world has produced. But the world has a way of persecuting and murdering its most excellent sons and daughters, and Rome represented and embodied the spirit of the world. Among these good men was John of Wesel. Born at Ober Wesel during the early part of the fifteenth century his family name became changed from Reichrath to that of his native place according to the custom of the age. He became John Vesalea, or Wesel.

In those times the university of Erfurt partook largely of the inquiring spirit of the day when doctrines melted away like darkness, and science dawned on the world.

Young Wesel attended the university of Erfurt, during its golden age, and imbibed the prevalent spirit of reform. Society was filled with theological troubles. Men and women were being burned by the thousand; and the human heart grieved deeply at the galling bondage which threatened the most natural and divine yearnings with every affliction that remorseless power could inflict. Wesel in time became a professor at Erfurt, and was well learned in the knowledge of his age. He shared in the growing German sentiment against certain theological doctrines of Rome, and especially that of indulgences, or remissions of purgatorial sentence for a money payment to a priest.

These indulgences were commonly sold, but no priest has ever been able to show that his contract was actually kept by the remission of any portion of any sentence in purgatory. The German mind is eminently practical, and likes to see some tangible return for its money. Men seriously doubted the power of any priest to keep the promises he made over a supposed region of some other world with which he could show no demonstrated connection. The goods paid for were never produced. Wesel became a preacher at Mayence, about 1460, after a professorial life of twenty years. The spirit of protest, and the love of light and liberty for thought and heart had spread far and wide in Germany. Many of the cities, especially Cologne, were nurseries of art and science. The "Holy City" of the middle ages, Cologne, loved literature and progress. Wesel and a great company of preachers of his time declaimed against the wickedness of the ecclesiastics, their theological delusions, and the imposition they practised on the credulity of the people, having first nurtured that credulity in order to practice upon it. In Mayence and Worms Wesel's voice was

regularly heard, and his work produced most salutary effects. Many customs of the church were called in question: and Wesel's protest against the prevailing immoralities of doctrine and practice culminated in his avowed attachment to many of the principles which characterized the brethren and sisters of the free spirit. This was the era of the Lollards in England, and the Hussites in Bohemia, both, in their several countries the advanced guard of the great, grand, glorious army of the following century. Wesel's labors in Worms continued for seventeen years. In February, 1479, Wesel was arraigned before Diethen von Isenburg, archbishop of Mayence, Gerard von Alten being the inquisitor. Before these persons, and others especially deputed by the universities of Heidelberg and Cologne, Wesel was conducted. The archbishop being an elector united the temporal and spiritual power. He was an able man, but very illiterate, not able to speak two words of latin. Wesel was formally interrogated. He was then an infirm old man, broken with a long life of faithful service. It is to the feebleness of declining years that the timidity of Wesel before his persecutors is to be attributed. His answers were clear and candid. Though not convicted of guilt Wesel was *compelled* to come *voluntarily* and ask for pardon. He was told plainly by the inquisitor that he was not forced, "but that he must come of his own accord and sue for pardon, or receive a more severe sentence." He was shut up in a dark and filthy prison. His writings were condemned to be burned, and himself to be imprisoned for life in the Augustinian monastery at Mayence. He spent two years in prison, and died in 1481. When Wesel beheld his books carried to the pile he wept bitterly remembering the painful toil they had cost him.

At the time when John of Wesel commenced his studies at Erfurt that university was marked by a double tendency, one toward the existing hierarchy, and another still stronger toward reform. The progress of the age at length confirmed the ascendancy of the latter. Many luminous points, in universities, residences, and free cities were then found in the territories that stretched along the Rhine. Wesel inherited the reforming spirit, and transmitted it direct to Luther. The great reformer himself says, "John Wesalia ruled the university of Erfurt by his books; and it was out of these that I studied for my master's degree." Wesel's reputation as a theologian and a man of science was so great, even in that region which was the focus of learning of all the earth at that time, that he left the impress of his mind upon it until the commencement of the following century. Yet this is the illustrious scholar who was compelled to seat himself on the ground in presence of his examiners. It was not only books but literature itself that was crucified in the person of John of Wesel.

JOHN WESSEL

MONKS—15TH AND 16TH CENTURY

This very eminent precursor of the Reformation was born in A. D. 1419, or 1420, at Groningen, in a house in the Heirenstrasse, still standing and recognizable by the family coat of arms, consisting chiefly of the unheraldic bird a goose. He lost his parents in early youth, and was taken under generous protection by a lady of social rank and fortune, Ottilia Clautes, who educated him along with her only son. From Groningen young

Wessel entered the institution of the Brethren of the Common Lot at Zwoll, an establishment then in high repute. The boy's studies were impeded by unusual difficulties. He had weak eyes, and the ankle bone of one of his feet was distorted. Without doubt these personal peculiarities tended to produce an introverted direction of mind, and a mental opposition to the world without, especially that portion of it which pressed upon the weak. The instruction which Wessel received from the Brethren of the Common Lot did little more than arouse a zeal for further knowledge. Let it be here recorded that the Brethren of the Common Lot were among the most diligent systematic collectors of books in the middle ages. The chief employment of the Brethren was the instruction of youth. Wherever they had no schools of their own they associated themselves with those who had, and furnished valuable assistance in presenting them with books then greatly needed for school purposes. They aided students to obtain a livelihood and lodgings. In their own schools, which were very numerous, they imparted instruction in reading, writing, singing, latin,—of which they were masters, ethics, and especially Bible history. In theology, and station in the church, they occupied a middle place between the ecclesiastical and the reformatory spirit. At opposite sides they insensibly blended with both. In some schools they had classes entrusted to their care as at the celebrated institution at Deventer.

Gerhard Groot, one of the chief founders of the society was himself an unwearied collector of books; and he constantly encouraged all the young men whose studies he aided at Deventer to transcribe books and distribute them, a strong proof of the prevailing dearth of such treasures. In Holland there were many schools

before the time of Gerhard;—at Ganesande 1322, Leyden 1324, Rotterdam 1328, Schiedam 1336, Delft 1342, Horn 1358, Haarlem 1389, Alkmaar 1390, but they were financial speculations; and the universities that about the same period became so numerous in Europe, were founded on the principle of bringing money to a city, as the establishment of a lunatic asylum is coveted now by cities in America. The Brethren gave instruction gratuitously, and elevated its character, both for poor and rich. The Brethren also strove to popularize education by directing it to subjects of practical utility, especially to the poor. A Brother House operated upon a whole neighborhood to popularize learning and elevate its tone. At Anensford in the sixteenth century, the knowledge of Latin became so common that every tradesman understood it; the better educated were familiar with Greek; the girls sang latin songs, and good latin was universal. Alexander Hegius, and John Suitius, at the head of the school of Deventer, earned for themselves imperishable renown: Greek and Latin were cultivated with so much success that the schools of the Brethren sent forth many of the most learned and earnest restorers of ancient literature at the close of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century.

On the invention of printing, the new art was vigorously applied by the brethren to the same objects, the creation and distribution of copies of the Scriptures, works on theology, and schoolbooks.

But although the efforts of the Brethren were unremitting, and they established presses at Herzogenbusch, Gouda, Louvain, Rostock, and Convent Hem, and also at Mergenthal, the great flood of books now flowing from the presses of Gutenberg, Faust, and Schoeffer in Mayence and Eltwill, far surpassed the utmost efforts of the

Brethren. Jodocus, Badius, Ascensius, one of the earliest and most eminent printers of Paris, who obtained great credit for his admirable editions of classical works, received not only his education but his earnestness in the spread of literature in one of the schools of the Brethren. The great Erasmus of Rotterdam, John Murmelius and others of celebrity were also educated in these schools.

"These brethren" says Mosheim "were often designated by the appellations of Beghards and Lolhards, which were common to so many sects, and they endured great hatred from all the priests and monks who had a violent prejudice against education and literature. These Lolhards were clerks of the Common Lot who being good industrious and useful schoolmasters were often invited and sent for by the magistrates of cities for the sake of the public good."

All the communities of the Beghards and Lolhards took their rise in the Netherlands, and spread thence through Germany to Merseberg and up the Rhine the length of Swabia. Without exception all these communities exhibited the same characteristics. We are, therefore, horrified to find that the edicts of the great diet of Worms, A. D. 1523, were especially directed against these excellent persons and schools; and that during the reign of Charles V. more than one hundred thousand persons of those associated with this great and noble enterprise were barbarously murdered, or otherwise made away with, under imperial authority indeed, but at the instigation of Rome who inculcated the spirit that did the atrocious work.

Early in life John Wessel became acquainted with Thomas a Kempis; but to the former there seemed to be too much superstition in the monastery of St. Agnes. Thomas was oriental in his tastes, contemplative,

dreamy; John was self-reliant, inquisitive, masculine and reformatory. In him the thirst for knowledge, and the taste for action were united without impairing his piety. He struggled to do good as well as to be good.

"From his boyhood John had always something singular and inwardly repugnant to superstition" says Hardenburg. On one occasion when Thomas exhorted him to show special reverence to the virgin, Wessel replied "Father, why do you not rather lead me to Christ who so graciously invites those who labor and are heavy laden to come to him." On another occasion Thomas inculcated fasting on his young friend. John returned the thoroughly Protestant answer "God grant that I may always live in purity and temperance, and fast from sin and vice." The pupil became the teacher, and Thomas could appreciate the pure faith and piety of his young friend, and the biographer relates that "Thomas on hearing this and similar remarks was filled with wonder and took occasion to change some passages in his writings which now show fewer traces of human superstition." The passage in the original is as follows: "*Talia multa cum ex ipso audiret Thomas, admiratus est; et sumpta occasione quædam in libris suis mutavit quæ nunc minus habent humanæ superstitionis.*" What is good in Thomas a Kempis is due to the spirit of Protestantism which wholesomely chastened his tone. Many other students and teachers were influenced by Wessel during his studies.

From Zwoll Wessel proceeded to Cologne, then one of the most powerful cities of the Hanseatic league, and the home of every art and science. The stiff and gloomy spirit of scholastic dogmatism, however, gradually overshadowed every other pursuit. The mystical, the liberal, the pantheistic in speculation here found advocates,

and here also the intolerant spirit of persecution grew in power and ferocity. Cologne became the chief seat of the inquisition in Germany. From that time the city sank rapidly as a seat of learning, and was spoken of by scholars with contempt. This decadence had begun when Wessel arrived. During his residence at Cologne Wessel's reformatory spirit in no degree abated. In philosophy he was at first a Realist, but on removing to Paris he seems to have adopted the Nominalist views. These principles, from their association with logical strictness, and the spirit of criticism and independent investigation, were usually associated also with reformatory theology. It was probably from strong misgivings on this point that both church and state undertook the suppression of Nominalism in France. Attempts to effect this object had been made in 1339, 1340, and again in 1425, 1465, and now in 1473, during Wessel's residence in Paris. On the first day of March, A. D. 1473, the gloomy bigot Louis XI. issued an edict addressed to the university of Paris, with the object of annihilating Nominalism at one blow. After adverting to his prerogative as Defender of the true catholic faith, the king proceeds: "Wherefore we ordain and enjoin that the above named doctrine of Aristotle and his commentator Averroes, of Albert the Great, Thomas Aquinas, Ægidius of Rome, Alexander of Hales, Scotus, Bonaventura, and other Realist teachers, whose principles have in former times been proved to be sound and safe, shall henceforth, in the usual way, be propounded and professed, exhibited for belief, learned and embraced, at the university of Paris, both in the faculty of theology and the arts. Whereas our will is, that the opposite of the Nominalists whom we have named, and of others like them, whosoever they may be, shall not be propounded, taught or

maintained either in this city or any other part of our kingdom, whether publicly or privately, or in any way or manner whatsoever." After what has been already narrated in this volume respecting the writings of Averroes, the occurrence of that name, as of an orthodox author, in immediate connection with Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventura in a royal decree issued at once in favor of monarchy and the church, will appear very remarkable. The members of the university were required to take an oath in presence of the rector, to observe this edict. It was further ordained that all Nominalist writings were to be delivered up, on oath, and strictly guarded. Accordingly every library surrendered ONE Nominalist work. The books were bound with a chain to prevent their doctrines from escaping.

From Paris Wessel proceeded to Rome, and some time afterward to Heidelberg, about the year 1477. Wessel was invited by the elector, but the theological faculty strenuously objected. Wessel's protestant and reformatory spirit were more than suspected. In this district, however, Wessel was very active, and diligently continued the work of Jerome of Prague, who had visited Heidelberg in 1406, and published a list of controversial theses,—of Rudolph Agricola, who after Jerome labored long in the same region,—of Dalberg, chancellor and bishop of Worms, of Vigilius, John Reuchlin, Pallas, Spangel, Gallius, and Wimpheling, and transmitted it to Melanchthon, Bucer, and many others. Wessel died on the 4th of October, 1489, full of years and honors. After his death, Hardenberg relates, that all the manuscripts found among his effects were by the zeal of the mendicant monks, and the fury of others, committed to the flames; and that this fact had been told him by persons who had

seen it with their own eyes. Several of his works were irretrievably destroyed.

COLOGNE

DOMINICANS—HEBREW BOOKS—16TH CENTURY

Cologne being a great commercial mart had always attracted large numbers of Jews who resorted thither for trade, continuously since Roman authority had become paramount in Germany. It was a center of bright, intellectual activity; and as the representatives of all the reforming sects of the middle ages were found there, the Inquisition early made Cologne a center of its counteracting efforts. During the entire history of the middle ages the names of prominent lawyers and jurists frequently occurred, sometimes in support of civic jurisdiction, sometimes the advocates of natural rights against oppression, again in aid of imperial authority, and lastly in support of sound learning against ecclesiastical and especially monkish and inquisitorial destructiveness and cruelty. The "Jurisconsult" is a person frequently and at times obscurely mentioned as an officer recognized as part of the civic staff, consulted by magistrates on legal questions and "states' rights." The lawyers were already men of learning as their profession required in an era when law depended on principles tersely reasoned out, and not on vapid or flaccid decisions that were mere repetitions of each other, as they are too often now. They were always found advocating justice and enlightenment against tyranny on one hand and the darkening of the public intelligence on the other. A large number, and in the end of the twelfth and opening of the

thirteenth centuries, the larger number of the professional lawyers were men who had abandoned the cowl for the cap, and the cassock for the robe. Hundreds of liberal minded ecclesiastics adopted the legal profession; and to such an extent was the preference displayed that severe edicts were issued forbidding ecclesiastics to study law or medicine. But there had been always professional lawyers who continued the noble duties of advocacy since the free spirit of old Rome threw the shield of professional skill around every man accused.

A very distinguished member of this laborious profession at the opening of the sixteenth century was John Reuchlin, a German of Pforzheim,—1455,—1522. At the age of twenty he taught philosophy and Greek and Latin. In Orleans Reuchlin studied law, and became teacher of jurisprudence and "*literæ humaniores*," in the university of Tübingen. Under the Emperor Frederick he was made imperial chancellor, and a diplomat. During many years Reuchlin was president of the Swabian confederate tribunal and was diligent in collecting Greek and Hebrew manuscripts.

At the opening of the sixteenth century the Inquisition was supreme over all kings, emperors, bishops, patriarchs, and all others in the matter of heresy, and the pursuit of heresy was assumed to authorize the most violent interference in all questions of state and domestic policy and government. Neither emperor nor council dared refuse when the inquisition required obedience. The public mind was saturated with hatred of so-called heresy, and an emperor or king would soon find himself deserted, who should refuse to comply with an invitation from the Inquisition to do this or that. Rage against the Jews at once for their conversion, and their destruction was very prevalent. The annihilation of their liter-

ature was one of the chief means employed to exhibit the love of the church for their souls. The Jews at Cologne were thus received into favor, and about the year 1509, a converted Jew who has been described as a bad specimen, named Pfefferkorn persuaded the Inquisition at Cologne to obtain from the Emperor Maximilian a decree for the destruction of all Hebrew books except the Bible. This decree was aimed quite as much against Reuchlin, and other collectors of Hebrew manuscripts as against Jews. It was also aimed at all libraries where Hebrew literature had been collected. This order is described as being an "imperial" and not an ecclesiastical one, and the church advocates of this prevarication endeavor to throw all the odium on the emperor, as they also endeavor to lay the blame of all the cruel violence committed in those ages on the "secular authority" who actually put the sentences in execution. Emperors and kings were imbued with the spirit and teaching of the church, and they dared not disobey her mandates. They had the honor to be simply the common executioners and hangmen for the priests. When the court orders it is as mean and cowardly as it is treacherous to lay the blame of an execution on the sheriff. Maximilian yielded. The order was issued. Reuchlin's opinion however was subsequently obtained. He remonstrated energetically. Maximilian was not a little in favor of the reformed opinions, and was an enlightened ruler. Reuchlin's remonstrance strengthened the hands of the court with the public. Cologne contained large numbers of persons who had long favored resistance to superstitious destruction of literature. The inquisitors were checked in their proceedings, and in turn raised a clamor against Reuchlin. They charged him with secret Judaism. A war of words.

ensued. The battle created additional interest in Greek and Hebrew.

From that period the advocates of classical literature rapidly gained the ascendancy, and from that day the study of Greek and Hebrew has been most diligently pursued in Germany. The greater part of Reuchlin's writings have been preserved, but many copies were burned by his enemies, in 1516.

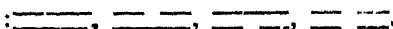
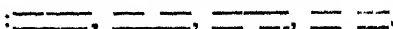
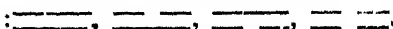
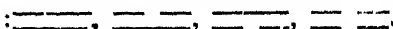
MEXICO

DON JUAN DE ZUMARRAGA
14TH AND 15TH CENT.

At the time of the conquest by the Spaniards, and we know not for how long previously, Mexico was in possession of a picture writing symbolical in meaning. It is not probable that this style of chirography was indigenous. The principle had been introduced by the Aztecs, and had assumed a local modification. Much of the symbolism is Asiatic, and Persian, while the figures reproduced a Hindoo, and especially a Buddhistic outline.

Mankind had passed through many ages of struggling before an alphabetical character in writing was reached. The civilization of the Chinese is indigenous in their country and has followed its own development. Here an alphabetical writing has not yet been acquired.

Very earnest efforts have marked Chinese literature in the development even of the writing they possess: and strange revolutions have signalized the genius of Chinese scholars in their adoption of symbols. Several descriptions of picture writing were invented, and partially introduced by them in early ages, The literary iconoclasm

of Chung Wang effaced almost all memorials of these primitive efforts. There are obscure traditions that these phonographs were, at different periods more or less obliterated by Chinese Gregorys, and Omars, and Holakous. From simple figures the Chinese advanced to combinations marking complete and abstract ideas. The most original of all attempts at writing was the system of tri-grams attributed to Fo hi, wherein philosophical speculations were represented by various combinations of the divided and undivided line: , , , .

The single and double combinations of these lines were made to represent virtues and principles in ethics. But this system from its extreme arbitrariness and obscurity was soon lost. The hieroglyphics of Egypt were purely alphabetical, and possibly are the result of long antecedent ages of effort. From a cursive corruption of these hieroglyphics modern European writing has been derived. Mexican writing seems to be wholly symbolical. The Peruvians were unaware of the civilization of Mexico. Their method of notation was a repetition of the ancient method of the Tartars, and consisted of knotted cords of various colors, combinations, numbers of knots, &c. These quipus formed the national archives.

While the Mexican hieroglyphics were thus founded on an inchoate principle, and could only have led as they did lead, to a literary blind alley, still the ingenuity of modern research could have compared and analyzed. For many ages the stones of Egypt were a perplexity. It may yet happen that a "Rosetta stone" laid bare somewhere on the Mexican plateau, will furnish a key to the pictorial emblems of the Aztecs, by means of a bilingual or biliteral inscription that would reveal the past. Even in such an event only a meagre remnant of the extensive literature and records of Mexico would furnish historians

with materials. By a strange fatality of historical progress the nations of America were brought into contact with European strangers during the period when the rage for annihilation of books expressed one phase of fanatical zeal; and that phase was at its extreme. This frenzy was manifested equally in Europe and in Asia; it had burned itself out in Africa for want of material; and America next felt its fiery impulse.

The Mexican books were manufactured chiefly from the maguey plant. But other materials were also employed. These books contained the history, science and philosophy of the nation. The explanation of the written characters would now be hailed with universal pleasure; and might shed a bright illumination on the origin of a very important part of our population and the history of our race. But scholars and statesmen were doomed to be for ever deprived of the materials for such an investigation. Literature of any kind but one was hateful in the eyes of those men who first came in contact with American nations. It is again the shame of an archbishop that adds another dark chapter to the long history of the destroyers of literature. Let the name of Don Juan de Zumarraga be marked as that of one of the darkeners of human intelligence. This prelate about twenty years after the mournful destruction of Arabian manuscripts by Ximenes, diligently collected all the Mexican manuscripts, especially from Tezcuco, the literary capital of the Mexican Empire, piled them into one great heap in the market place of Tlatelolco and reduced them all to ashes. The rage of the destroyer did not end here, but extended to all parts of the country. De Zumarraga was thus the worthy peer of Holakon, of Omar, of Alexander, of Khalid, and of Menezes, of the Turkish hordes and of the Tartar marauders. By

another strange fatality the literature of the new world, as of the old, manifested a strength of progress that indicated an intellect capable of guidance into high things, but was brought into contact first with those peoples least capable of respecting independent genius, or of estimating the reflex effect upon themselves of the destroying spirit that inspired all their conduct toward others. Mexico and Peru have perished indeed, but Spain and Portugal have torn down upon their own heads the pillars that upheld a grand edifice of investigation and philosophy, whence had issued the mental vigor and activity which had enabled them, in one day in their history, to place their sacrilegious hands on some of the grandest treasures in the world. Mexico has cast off Spain, but unhappily she long retained much of the impatience for destruction which formed the chief characteristic of the alien innovators who prostrated her ancient kingdom. This spirit now finds itself chiefly exercised against the civil order and political form that a long misguided people endeavor to ruin as fast as it takes shape, as the great political edifice of their fathers, with all its accumulations, was destroyed by their Romano-Spanish invaders.

But while this spirit of iconoclasm was a disgrace to the Spanish ecclesiastics it must be admitted that this seed of destructiveness was sown in a soil already fruitful in poisonous growths of the same kind.

The Spaniards in Mexico were not content with the almost complete annihilation of the aboriginal literature. They were equally inimical to the educational efforts of the best of their own number who had labored assiduously to preserve the memorials of earlier history still treasured in the recollection of contemporaries of the conquest, in the

scattered fragments of Mexican writings, and in the stone monuments of the land.

This mischievous spirit was all the more lamentable because it was a continuation by professed teachers of knowledge and improvement of the barbarous customs that had disfigured native military destructiveness in previous times. Upon the taking of a town by force the temple and archives were always burned. Thus many records perished during the numerous struggles between the tribes. This incendiarism was still practised by the horde of auxiliaries who accompanied Cortez; and the conqueror did not concern himself with the inveterate usages of his allies that corresponded with his present purposes. During the conquest the temples and archives were alike committed to the flames. After this demolition De Zumarraga was spared the toil of a more extensive bonfire; the religious zeal of his missionaries was the logical continuance of the example thus set to them. The mitred Christian was in no sense superior to the feather-bedecked Aztec in this respect, and the flame kindled by the priest shed a lurid light of approbation backward on the barbarous practices of the heathen. It was a beacon signal of mischief from a pillar of the church. The priests looked or pretended to look on the hieroglyphical writing as diabolical. The soldiers shared in the work, and wherever manuscripts, charts or papers were discovered in any part of the country they were destroyed as pestilential. One large manuscript that escaped this fury is now in the Vatican; and the Vatican pretends to value it as a treasure. Had it fallen into the hands of De Zumarraga, the Vatican's accredited agent, it would have shared the fate of the rest. The fashion of literary and intellectual progress among the free world outside has shamed Rome into a semblance of

decency. When the first fury was spent against these unresisting enemies, the curiosity of some ecclesiastics, the literary taste of others gradually collected a few manuscripts that had lain in obscure places. In the convent libraries, especially those of Peter, Paul and Francis, there were found some specimens of these memorials. But the old spirit of destruction revived again and all these manuscripts have disappeared. There is not now a trace of them. With great industry, Boturini made a collection, but the books were all taken from him, conveyed to the office of the viceroy's secretary, and the entire result of his labor has long ceased to exist. The great manuscript long known as the manuscript of Tlascalala, picturing the peregrinations of the Aztecs has disappeared. A few noble souls rose superior to the vulgar persecutors around them, and gave proof that genius and taste in intellect are not the fruit of development resulting from immediate surroundings. Historians arose amid the ruins of old Mexican institutions who labored to forge a link that should connect for ever the progress of the natives under the old status and the new. But their task was difficult even while the events were most recent, and while interpreters still survived. Of these chroniclers the most devoted and successful was Fra Bernardino Ribeira de Sahagun, a Franciscan. His chief work was the "General History of the affairs of New Spain," which, in twelve books and two volumes, was written by R. P. Fr. Bernardino de Sahagun of the order of Francesco," according to an old title, but remained unpublished for three centuries. This laborious investigator, who had become one of the best linguists of the Mexican dialects, retired to Tepeapulco in 1557. Here he employed several interpreters, some alcaldes of the district, and three or four linguists; and during an entire

year shut himself up in the college of Tlatelolco, and produced a clean copy of the broken and irregular chronicles that he had accumulated at Tepeapulco. This history was composed in Mexican and translated into Spanish, and the work was produced in the two languages in parallel columns. But so rigid had become the censorship of literature under the Jesuits that the author was compelled to change his statements and make some of them correspond with the wishes of the censors rather than with the facts. Even the progress of the work was regarded with suspicion if not with hostility, and like Roger Bacon the aged historian was deprived of amanuenses and aid of all kinds and compelled to complete his work alone, and with a hand trembling from weight of years and toil. The provincial, Alonzo de Escalona, gratified at once his malice toward De Sahagun and his instinct as a friar by impeding the old historian as much as possible. Portions of this work have had various vicissitudes. The MS. of Tepeapulco comprising the hieroglyphics and their translation is entirely lost. The MS. of Tlatelolco was sent to Spain, but only a few fragments survive in the Royal Academy of History at Madrid. The copy in Mexican is lost. The clean copy consists only in some fragments. The history itself containing the Spanish translation is lost. One MS. in Mexican and Spanish was sent to the king. It passed through several hands, among others the Franciscans of Tolosa. They were required to surrender it to the chronicler Mendoz, but they produced only one copy of the Spanish portion. That copy now incomplete is in the Academy. From this copy Lord Kingsborough's was derived. The History of the Conquest was published in 1840; but the MS. has disappeared. De Sahagun was the author of other works; among others of "Christian Doctrine,"

in Mexican; of this only a fragment remains. In his preface or apology for this book the author declared that no offense ought to be taken at it, because it would circulate only among ecclesiastics.

But his remonstrance was unavailing. His superiors tore from the MS. the most important portions. This mischief is attributed to father Figueroa. This person was at once notary and censor of the Holy Office, and is accused of having destroyed important works, in obedience to his official duties. Even the printed edition of the "Christian Doctrine" of 1579, has been obliterated. It was the first of de Sahagun's works, and one of the most precious monuments of the sixteenth century. Another volume by the same unwearied author, — "Christian Psalmody and a collection of Sermons," 1583, is now almost extinct. One mutilated copy remains. This book is alluded to by Figueroa in his index of the books in the library of his convent of N. S. P. S. Francesco of Mexico. In this index he says, pp. 972-974: "I denounced and presented a manuscript book in the Mexican language, in which all the Epistles were translated, and Gospels of the Missal, contrary to rule 5 of the Expurgatory, which expressly prohibits translations of the Holy Bible into vulgar language. And for this reason as many as I have found, that many I have destroyed with charcoal, with the express permission of his worship the Inquisitor." "Item, for the same reason I denounced and presented twelve books printed in the Mexican language, under the title of "Xtian Psalmody and collection of Sermons from the Saints of the year," composed by P. F. R. Bernardino de Sahagun of the order of San Francesco, ordered to be sung by the Indians at the devotions which they perform at the churches. Printed in Mexico at the house of Pedro Ocharte, year 1583." Three of de Sahagun's

works were given to the press in his lifetime. One copy of one of these is all that exists.

The Mexican manuscripts must have been extremely numerous. According to Diaz, quoted by Mayer (p. 104) Montezuma's Major Domo kept the accounts of the monarch's rents in books which occupied an entire house. An extract from Mayer's valuable book on Mexico will be here most appropriate. "Wherever the church of Rome obtained a foothold, in the sixteenth century, the Holy Inquisition was not long in asserting and establishing its power. Unfortunately for the zealots of this monastic tribunal, the ignorance of the Indians did not permit them to wander into the mazes of heresy so that Dominican monks found but slender employment for their cruel skill. The poor aborigines were hardly worth the trouble of persecution, for the conquerors had already plundered them, and unfortunately the Jews did not wander to the wilds of America. The Inquisition, however, could not restrain its natural love of labor, so that diverting its attention from the bodies of its victims it devoted itself, with the occasional recreation of an *auto da fe* to the spiritual guardianship of Spanish and Indian intellects. Education was of course modified and repressed by such baneful influences. Men dared neither learn nor read except what was selected for them by the monks. At the end of the eighteenth century there were but three presses in Spanish America;—one in Mexico, one in Lima, and one which belonged to the Jesuits at Cordova. But these presses were designed for the use of the government alone in the dissemination of its decrees. The eye of the Inquisition was of course jealously directed to all publications. Booksellers were bound to furnish the holy fathers annually with a list of their merchandise; and the fraternity was empowered to enter

wheresoever it pleased, to seek and seize prohibited literature.

Luther, Calvin, Vattel, Montesquieu, Puffendorf, Robertson, Addison, and even the Roman Catholic Fenelon were all proscribed. The Inquisition was the great censor of the press, and nothing was submitted to the people unless it had passed the fiery ordeal of the holy office. It was quite enough for a book to be wise, classical, or progressive, to subject it to condemnation. Even viceroys and governors were forbidden to license the publication of a work unless the Inquisition sanctioned it; and we have seen volumes in Mexico still kept as curiosities in private libraries, out of which pages were torn, and passages obliterated by the holy fathers before they were permitted to be sold." Even the painful literary efforts of the first missionaries for the promotion and extension of their views of the Christian faith, which they all pretended to have and possibly had exclusively at heart, were condemned to the flame by subsequent and even contemporary zealots engaged in the same enterprise, as being adverse to religion. The fanaticism of destruction has been always indiscriminating.

M. Alaman relates that a college for Indian nobles was founded in the convent of Santiago de Tlatelolco, belonging to the Franciscan order, before anything of the kind was established for Spanish youth. "The first viceroy of Mexico after the ephemeral apparition of Cortez in the government, Don Antonio de Mendoza, came in person to preside at its solemn inauguration. But no sooner had that college been opened, than the policy of degrading the Indians beginning to be acted on, it was treated in such a way that it became disorganized, and the institution of others was prevented. Toward the end of the last century a wealthy cacique residing at

Puebla, Don Juan de Castilla went to Madrid to solicit the authorities to establish a college for Indians in his native city. He passed years in haunting the ante-chambers of that capital, but obtained nothing. The viceroy of that epoch, the Marquis de Branciforte was accustomed to say that in America instruction ought to be confined to the catechism. In conformity with this maxim the Indians learned nothing except what they could pick up in the religious lessons of the parish priests in their infancy, and even those lessons, says M. Alaman were, as regards their object, very incomplete and very short. Subjected to the same system, reduced to the same intellectual pittance, the Indian nobles knew no more than the vulgar. M. Alaman is very lenient to the Spanish government in Mexico. He says "The power of printing was not only subjected, as in Spain to the surveillance of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, but nothing could be printed without the permission of each of them, and that permission was not accorded until after an examination of the manuscript by persons specially commissioned for the purpose, and until after they had certified that it contained nothing contrary to the dogmas of the Holy Roman Church, to the prerogatives of his majesty, and public morality. Moreover no work treating of the affairs of America was allowed to be printed without the approbation of the Council of the Indies. Orders were even given to withdraw from circulation all that had been issued without the fulfilment of this condition. These restrictions were observed with so much rigor that Clavigero, an ecclesiastic and an inoffensive man could not obtain permission for his history of Mexico to be printed in Castilian in the Peninsula; and he was obliged to get it translated into Italian and printed in Italy. The works relative to America published in

Spain or foreign countries could not be delivered in the colonies without a similar permission. In order that these rules might be observed, and that the admission into the colonies of all books treating of profane or fabulous matters or romances might be prevented, the contents of every book embarked for that destination had to be inscribed on the ship's register; and ecclesiastical superintendents and officers of the crown were required to visit vessels on their arrival to receive books, and then came the examination of the Inquisition." "There were afterward" says M. Chevalier from whose excellent work the foregoing extract is taken "some relaxations of these rules, but not in the last one."

So thoroughly did the minds of the Mexicans and of the Spaniards residing in Mexico become degraded and almost stupefied by the system just sketched, that the Spanish government, deeply imbued as it was with superstitious imposture, and blinded to all sense of propriety, law, and human reason in its dealings with its colonies, was enabled to conceive and adopt a system of revenue in Mexico not paralleled at any period ancient or modern, by any civil rulers. By royal authority a traffic in superstition and imposture was regularly organized. In the name and under the direct supervision of the king and his ministers a series of bulls of composition for all crimes in this world, and for all possible escape from penalties in the next, was issued and sold to the deluded Mexicans. Some of these missives were "Bulls de Cruzada;"—some were "Bulls de Defuntos;" others were Bulls of death passport to the soul from purgatory, while still a fourth class consisted of "Bulls of Composition" for all descriptions of fraud and villainy in barter and traffic in the open market. Whoever possessed a Bull de Cruzada might be absolved from all crimes except

heresy; and he could not be suspected even of that so long as this talismanic paper remained in his possession. A Bull of Composition corrected before the law, the tribunals, before decency and morality and the inherent sentiments of the human mind, every species of chicanery whereby one trafficker obtained a dishonest advantage over a purchaser in ordinary commerce. There was no redress so long as the defrauder could show his title to the exemption. The only restriction imposed was that the same person could not exceed fifty of these passports to scoundrelism in any one year. Can any person wonder why the Spanish colonies became hopelessly bankrupt in money, commerce, credit, and business capacity. The minds of the people were almost brutified by the attempt to stifle both reason and human feeling in the most essential affairs of life. It was by similar wickedness that Peru was also prostrated. Here the evil continued longer than in Mexico because the country is more remote from the direct influences that corrected Spanish and Roman tyranny elsewhere. Sound knowledge is as essential to the physical health and well-being of nations and individuals as sound food.

The fate of two of the principal collections of paintings which escaped "the search of the first missionaries" is thus described by Clavigero.

"Carlos de Seguenza e Gongora, the celebrated Mexican professor of mathematics in his native university. This author has been one of the most comprehensive writers on Mexican history. At great expense he made a large collection of ancient pictures and manuscripts, and applied himself with the greatest diligence and assiduity to illustrate the antiquities of the kingdom. Besides many critical, mathematical, historical and poetical works composed by him, some in MS., some printed in

Mexico, from the year 1680 to 1693, he wrote in Spanish:—I. The Mexican Cyclography, a work of great labor in which by calculating eclipses and comets, marked in the historical pictures of the Mexicans, he adjusted their epochs with ours, and by availing himself of good instruction explained the method they employed to count years, centuries, and months.

II. He wrote the history of the Chechemican empire in which he explained what he found in Mexican manuscripts and paintings concerning the first colonies which passed from Asia to America, and the events of the most ancient nations established in Anahuac.

III. A long and learned dissertation on the announcing of the gospel in Anahuac; which was done there as he believed by the apostle St. Thomas, supporting his opinion on traditions of the Indians, crosses found, and formerly worshipped in Mexico, and other monuments.

IV. The Genealogy of the Mexican kings; in which he traced their ascending line as far back as the seventh century of the Christian era.

V. Annotations on the works of Torquemada and Bernal Diaz; "all these most learned manuscripts," says Clavigero, "which would have afforded considerable aid to this history, were lost through the negligence of the heirs of that learned author; and there now remain only some fragments of them preserved in the works of other contemporary writers, namely Gemelli, Betancourt, and Florencia."

"Lorenzo Boturini Benaducci of Milan. This curious and learned gentleman arrived in Mexico in 1736; and desirous of writing the history of that kingdom, he made, during eight years he remained there, the most diligent researches into its antiquity; acquired a considerable mastery of the Mexican language, entered into friendship

with the Indians to obtain their ancient pictures from them, and procured copies of many valuable manuscripts which were in the libraries of the monasteries. The museum which he formed of paintings and ancient manuscripts was the most ample and select ever seen in that kingdom, excepting that of the celebrated Seguenze; but before he put a hand to his work the excessive jealousy of the Spanish government stripped him of all his literary state, and sent him into Spain, where, being entirely cleared from every suspicion against his loyalty and honor, but without recovering his manuscripts, he published in Madrid in 1746, in one volume in quarto, a sketch of the great history he was meditating."

Clavigero himself alludes with caution to the fiery zeal of the first missionaries in destroying Mexican books. It is a pity he did not supply us with a detailed account. In maintaining the sufficiency of the materials recovered from the general wreck to frame a history, he says p. 26, vol. 1.: "Nor are the historical pictures so few in number which escaped the search of the first missionaries, unless we compare those which remain with the incredible quantity that formerly existed, as may easily be understood from this history, Torquemada and other writers." Again vol ii, p. 373, he alludes to M. de Paw, and the statement made by the latter that the Mexicans did not use hieroglyphics, that their paintings were coarse drafts, that the only copy of historical painting saved from the burning which the first missionaries made of them, is that which the first viceroy of Mexico sent to Charles V. Here Clavigero does not dispute or deny the burning made by the first missionaries. He merely corrects the statement as to the non-use of hieroglyphics. These confirmations are important from so well-informed a writer as Clavigero.

LONDON—OXFORD

TYNDALE, TUNSTAL, WOOLSEY, MORE, QUEEN MARY
TUDOR—15TH AND 16TH CENTURY

The deliberations of the Council of Constance lasted from 1414 to 1418. The work of the Council was very serious. They had to examine a multitude of alleged heresies and errors in doctrines, maintained all over Europe by multitudes of persons, and they had to purge their church of the dreadful scandal of a pope openly accused of the worst of every species of crime. John XXIII. was deposed. But the troubles did not end there. A literature,—and what was still more formidable and deep rooted,—a literary spirit was abroad and growing in extent and intensity. With literature had grown a free spirit of examination into the claims of asserted divine right of all kinds. The works of Hus and Wicliffe had been noticed, and Hus himself destroyed in the fire. Wicliffe personally was secure, thanks to the interposition of powerful friends, as Hus would have been had not the “safe conduct” of the emperor Sigismund deceived the public. The century and a half intervening between Wicliffe and Tyndale was by no means destitute of literary effort, but the general public was extremely ill supplied with books. The spirit of book destruction had assumed a most virulent form among the ecclesiastics everywhere. During this interval the most momentous events had happened. The Hussite wars, the humiliation of France by England, and of Europe by the Turks, had revolutionized history. But in England great mental activity resulted from Wicliffe’s example and

precepts. Tracts, first issued by him, became numerous, and were eagerly welcomed. The dearth of practical scientific literature was extreme. Men were deluded by the most monstrous absurdities in religion and medicine. It was a time of dreadful persecutions. The poor felt the power of their serfdom. From 1381, when one hundred thousand laborers marched into London petitioning to be allowed to be "men," the mind of the nation began to be stirred. It was during this angry demonstration which was much more serious than it is usually represented to have been, and sprang from feelings that are continually mistaken, that the deluded people wreaked their wrath on the archives and records of the city of London, carrying lighted torches made and fed by the papers and parchments. This destruction is of the same kind as the firing of coal mines to make coal cheap to the poor, and breaking cotton looms to provide employment for weavers. The real feelings that produced this rising are well set forth in a poem of the period which has been preserved in the Vernon manuscript and published in *Archæologia* xviii, 26. It is too long to be inserted entire, but the most pertinent stanzas are here given:

I.

Yet God is a curteis Lord
And mekeliche con shewe his miht
F'fayne he wolde bring til acord
Monkind to live in treuthe ariht.
Allas! Whi set we that Lord so light,
And al to foule with him we fare?
In world is no so wys no wiht,
That thei ne have warnyng to beware.

* * * *

III.

When the Comaynes bigan to ryse,
 Was not so gret Lord as I gesse,
 That thei in herte bigan to gryse
 And leide her jolyte in presse.
 Wher was then heore worthinesse?
 When thei made lordes droup and dare,
 Of all wyse men I take wytnesse,
 This a warnyng to beware.

IV.

Before gif menhedde had a graas,
 Lordes miht wonder weel,
 Han let the rysing that ther was,
 But that God thogte him sum del,
 That Lordes schulde his Lordscheep feel,
 And of heore Lordscipe make hem bare,
 Trust thereto as trewe as steel
 This was a warnyng to beware.

* * *

VI.

F'forsooth this was a Lord to drede,
 So sodeynly mad mon aghast,
 Of gold and silver thei took non hede,
 But out of the houses ful sone thei past,
 Chaumbres, chimneys, al to barst,
 Churches and castels foul gan fare,
 Pinacles, steples, to ground hit cast,
 And al was warnyng to beware.

* * *

VIII.

The rysing of the Comaynes in Londe,
 The pestilens, and the earthquake
 Theose threo thynges I understonde
 Betokens the grete vengeance and wrake
 That shulde fall for synnes sake,
 As this clerks con declare,
 Now mai we chese to leve or take,
 For warnyng have we to beware.

* * *

XI.

Bewar for I con sey no more,
Bewar for vengeance of trespas,
Bewar and thenk upon this lore,
Bewar of this sodeyn cas.
And yit bewar while we have spas,
And thonke that child that Marie bare,
Of his gret goodnesse and his gras,
Send us such warnyng to beware.

The tone and wording of this poem are emphatically protestant; and they exhibit the working of that combined earnestness after personal liberty, civil freedom, and religious breadth of sentiment, and scriptural devotion, which characterized in large measure the efforts of the peasantry in many countries during that age of struggling literature. That books inculcating such sentiments, apparently so dangerous, but really conservative, should have been fiercely pursued by civil and ecclesiastical despots is only natural. The wording of the first line of the fourth stanza has been interpreted to mean either:

1. If men had favor shown them by the Deity.
2. If men had kindness shown them by the Powerful.

The latter is decidedly the meaning of the author. The favor of the Deity is amply recognized; it is the want of consideration on the part of "Lords" toward the poor that is complained of. The poem also exhibits the kind of literature that formed the practical education of the commons everywhere. All that wide source of daily knowledge that was derived from laws, constitutions, charters, titles, deeds, and the rights of property, all that practical instruction diffused in the courts of king and baron, was the real origin of the cultivation of the middle ages, such as it was, and no part of this was derived from, or by, or through, the monasteries.

The struggles of Thomas a Becket with the duties of

chancellor, and the vast legal erudition outside his head, on which the rights of the nation were based, had an origin and a maintenance totally independent of the priest or the monk. It was from these laic and temporal sources that national life regained its strength when the monasteries were righteously suppressed.

The House of Commons approved of the revocation of the charters conceded by Richard II., declaring that they would never consent to the abolition of serfdom "though it were to save them from all perishing in a day." Later the House petitioned that serfs might not be permitted to send their children to school, "and this for the honor and glory of all the freemen of the realm." The absence of books was largely the cause of the degraded condition of the people. English men and women were sold like cattle at the great fairs. Grossness of manners and revolting social customs marked all classes. Bands of robbers harrassed the country and brute force reigned supreme. During the same period the annals of London and of Paris too, represent the city as in a most filthy condition, and orders were repeatedly issued for the removal of pigs and pigsties from the streets. Priests and chaplains were frequently imprisoned in the Tun for immorality with lewd women. But these same priests and monks could have Jews arrested, imprisoned and plundered at their pleasure. Jew baiting was a pastime. It was by these influences that Wicliffe's books were burned, and it was by similar influences that other good books were burned in "Holocausts pleasing to God," all over Christendom, the holocausts including the authors and owners as well as the books. To this fact witness as samples—ten heretics and their books burned at Douai on the 2d of March, 1235, through the efforts of "brother Robert;" witness a hundred and eighty-three other

heretics burned with their books, through the efforts of the same brother Robert, in the presence of a crowd of bishops, and Count Thibaut the Rhymer, at Mount Aimé on the famous day—the 13th of May, 1239, a day often celebrated on this account in ecclesiastical annals, “Maximum holocaustum et placabile Domino,” “a mighty holocaust and appeasing to God;” witness a hundred and fourteen Vaudois burned together at Paris in 1304; and yet kings wondered at the discontent and poverty of their people. Tyndale found the same forces in operation at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The subject of the transmutation of metals had long occupied inquisitive minds, and continued to occupy them down even to the days of Pinto and Cagliostro. It was in the fourteenth century almost the only subject left for men to study. The mysterious and the supernatural in theology are naturally associated with charlatanism and empiricism in science. The tendency of mind that encourages the one produces the other. Hence at the opening of the fifteenth century men’s minds were almost wholly turned in the direction of alchemy. Belief in the intervention of supernal powers on one hand, had its necessary counterpart in a corresponding belief in the intervention of infernal powers on the other. The public thought was equally realistic on both. So fully was the power of alchemy believed in that in 1404 the English parliament enacted a statute, described by Lord Coke as the shortest on record, determining that the making of gold and silver should be felony. The legislators were afraid that the English constitution was imperiled by the alchemists; and that if gold and silver were made, then the king would be independent of parliament. Healthy scientific literature had been obliterated. It was a very dark hour and it preceded the dawn.

The example set to Europe by the frightful sensuality and profligacy of the papal court at Avignon were at once a cause of vice, and of a resolute revolt against the vice and the cause of it. Good men also were many; and learning again struggled into day notwithstanding the heap of rubbish her growing stem had to force its way through. Greek and Hebrew especially were the objects of monkish hatred. Even the theological faculty of Louvain founded in 1426, declaimed against and denounced the study of the Greek language as not only useless but in the highest degree pernicious. The labors of Erasmus were assailed with great severity by Martin Dorp. But he afterward learned better, and not only studied Greek but zealously promoted the objects of it. The theological faculty of Paris also denounced Greek and Hebrew declaring "that it was over with religion if the study of them was permitted." During the frenzy of these vicious animosities against literature, William Tyndale undertook his translation of the New Testament from the original. Being furnished with a small sum of money,—ten pounds, Tyndale retired to Hamburgh. There his translation was nearly completed. A. D. 1525, being furnished with ten pounds more Tyndale proceeded to Cologne to publish his book. The English merchants sought out the laborious scholar and befriended him.

John Cochlæus happened to employ for a purpose of his own the same printer who was at work on Tyndale's Testament. From some of the workmen he learned that the work was already advanced through the press as far as "K" in the printer's order. Cochlæus being a determined hater of vernacular translations of the Bible, disclosed the affair to the authorities. Tyndale fled with his manuscripts to Worms. Here the octavo and

quarto editions were completed and issued December 1525. Early the following year, many copies of Simon Fysche's pamphlet, "The Supplication of Beggars" were scattered through London. Cardinal Woolsey took alarm, and ordered a strict search for the Lutheran books in the capital, and the universities.

Thomas Garrett, a distributor of books, was pursued to Oxford, the intention being to apprehend and imprison him and burn his books. Many volumes were found under the floors in Cardinal's college, Woolsey's own foundation. The library of Oxford University up to that time had been kept in a few chests in a cellar under St. Mary's church. The students found in possession of these discovered books, were shut up in a stinking salt fish cellar, and four of them died in a week. Strict search was also made at Cambridge, for "heretical books." In February 1526, the Cardinal himself, in purple, surrounded by mitred abbots and bishops in damask and satin, and enthroned in pomp received poor Robert Barnes, prior of the Augustines at Cambridge in a humiliating abjuration. Besides Barnes there were four merchants convicted of the crime of importing books. Here the whole power of the papacy in England was arrayed against literature. Great baskets full of books, part being Tyndale's New Testament were there also. These books were all flung into a great bonfire at the north end of St. Paul's. Severe inquisition was made everywhere for Tyndale's book, and many copies were destroyed throughout England. "During this year Bibles were burned daily," yet they multiplied. October 24, 1526, Bishop Tunstal issued a formal decree against them. Archbishop Warham had all the procurable copies on the continent purchased and destroyed. Still thousands were brought into England, being sold openly

at the fairs at Frankfort and elsewhere. Woolsey commissioned Sir John Hackett, envoy to the Court of Brabant, to hunt out Tyndale and destroy his books. Afterward Sir Thomas More, who had assumed the role of a reformer, changed sides, and became an enemy of Tyndale and his books. In December 1559, a severe mandate was issued by the Chancellor to all justices, mayors, bailies, sheriffs, and others to destroy heresy; and the writers, readers, vendors of heretical books were to be punished, and especially the book of Tyndale was to be extirpated. In 1530, special efforts were made for the same purpose. Books were specified, and the Scriptures particularly denounced, as leading to confusion and destruction. They are declared to be "books of heresy" and ordered to be destroyed and exiled forever. Besides the Bibles laid under interdict during this year, several other books were also prohibited. Among these were "The Wicked Mammon," and "The Obedience of a Christian Man," by Tyndale. "The Supplication of Beggars," by Simon Fysche, a student of Gray's Inn; "The Summary of Scripture," a translation from the German, by Fysche; "The Revelation of Antichrist;" "The Practyse of Prelats, whether the King's Grace may be separated from his Queen because she was his brother's wife," 1546. This book is mentioned by Fox as among the condemned. Frith's writings by which Cranmer was converted, were also among the prohibited. Augustine Packington shrewdly proposed to Bishop Tunstal to buy up all the copies of Tyndale's Testament. By this device Tyndale got out of debt, and issued a larger and better edition. But the volumes obtained by Tunstal were made the fuel for an immense bonfire.

One of Queen Mary's first acts was an inhibition against reading or teaching the Scriptures in churches,

and against printing books. In 1555, a second proclamation was issued, forbidding the importation and use of thirty-five authors named, among them twelve English. In the same year the Stationers' Company received their charter, by which they were expressly authorized and encouraged to search as often as they pleased all houses occupied by printers, binders, stampers or sellers of books, for any works obnoxious to the state or to their own interests: and to seize, burn, or convert such works to their own use.

Again, 1558, another proclamation ordered all wicked and seditious books to be immediately given up on pain of martial law. This proclamation ran as follows:—

“By the King and Queen.—Whereas, divers books filled with heresy, sedition and treason, have of late and be daily brought into the realm out of foreign countries and places beyond the seas, and some also covertly printed within this realm, and cast abroad in sundry parts thereof, whereby not only is God dishonored, but also encouragement is given to disobey lawful princes and governors; The King and Queen's Majesty, for redress hereof, do by their present proclamation declare and publish to all their subjects, that whosoever shall, after the proclamation hereof, be found to have any of the said wicked and seditious books, or finding them doth not forthwith burn the same, without shewing or reading the same to any other person, shall in that case be reputed and taken for a rebel, and shall without delay be executed for that offence according to the order of martial law.

Given at our Manor of St. James, the 6th day of June 1558.”

But the books above enumerated were not the only books destroyed. The presses teemed with reformatory

and controversial works. During Mary's reign, books were constantly destroyed everywhere, along with the hundreds of persons martyred all through the kingdom.

ITALY

CHARLES OF ANJOU—CHARLES V.—INQUISITION—SALERNO—NAPLES—PALERMO—13TH, 14TH, 15TH,
16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES

The south of Italy was deeply indebted to the Emperor Frederic II. for a pre-eminence in literature that was at once precocious and evanescent. Frederic was the mystery of his age. Being neither a German nor an Italian, and yet ruling both Germany and Italy, the *de jure* ruler of the former by hereditary title as well as election, and the latter as inherited dominions,—he was not sufficiently identified with the national life or budding political aspirations of any district or city. These aspirations were numerous in his day, and encountered from him much stern opposition. While his mind was imperial, and cosmopolitan, and was familiar with the civil and religious creeds of Jew, Christian and Mussulman, it was not so constrainedly limited to the tenets of any one of these as to refuse citizenship and the protection of his crown to all industrious subjects who conformed to the imperial laws. Frederic was a Christian statesman who did not partake of the violent antipathy to Jews and Saracens that formed a large part of the religious temper of his day. He was not the intellectual slave of monk or pope. His advisers were scholars, statesmen and legislators. His administration was directed by Peter de Vineæ, an illustrious councillor, phil-

osopher and author, and his attorney general was the equally illustrious and eloquent but unfortunate Thaddeus of Suessa, who nobly vindicated his sovereign at the Council of Lyons. Under these influences it would be strange indeed if Frederic neglected literature. In the polemics of his reign it was one of his most effective weapons. The narrowing bigotry that assailed the lord of a hundred separate political combinations, each struggling for additional recognition and power, necessarily was antagonistic to the broad statesmanship and equitable tolerance that ruled men, as a magistrate, and not as a bigot "with paternosters." Frederic's luxurious life was innocence itself compared with that of many popes and multitudes of bishops and abbots. But his generous recognition of scholarship in Jew, Christian, Musulman or free thinker, removed him from the fierce fanaticism of the greater part of contemporary religionists, and excited the malignant ire of the chief disturber of the peace of Europe.

With the view not only of fostering learning, but of attracting the thousands of students who then crowded to other cities in pursuit of knowledge, and were compelled to listen to lectures, and profit by them as best they might in the absence of grammar, dictionary or almost any other modern aid to learning, Frederic established the University of Naples by imperial diploma in 1224. In order to render his capital the chief seat of learning in his dominions, Frederic attempted unwisely to suppress the flourishing university of Bologna by letters general. But, as that city was enriched by ten thousand students of many nationalities, her chief income was menaced with extinction. It was to the concourse of students that many cities owed their prosperity; and universities were the only public institutions

that popular voice coveted in cities. They brought wealth, but were neither of the nobles or the populace. They conferred power, but neither of the sword nor of the hammer. Bologna sturdily resisted the threatened extinction at once of her school and of her celebrity. The Lombard League received her as an eager member against the emperor. In 1227, Frederic revoked his edict, and Bologna retained her books. Naples, however, continued to progress fitfully as a centre of learning. There was no such thing there as local literature. The nobility were addicted to outdoor pastimes, and the rude practice of war. The people were little better than serfs, sunk in ignorance. The cities had not yet developed to any degree that middle rank that is at once industrial and educated, wealthy and devoted to business. During the predominance of Saracen power in Sicily that island became the most enlightened and progressive state in Southern Europe. Under the sway of priests, its life has been intellectually starved into insignificance. Under the brief power of the Normans, this Arab influence was felt all through Italy, and Naples promised to become, what Florence subsequently did become, the literary instructor and regenerator of the world. The defeat of Frederic crushed out arts and letters in Southern Italy. In 1253, Pope Innocent IV.—the Innocents never corresponded with their names,—presented the island of Sicily to Prince Emanuel, son of Henry III. of England. The king was foolish and infatuated enough to accept the gift which did not belong to the giver. The conditions of the donation were extremely onerous, and one of them was the payment to the pope of two thousand ounces of pure gold yearly. The English parliament remonstrated first, and then resisted. The pope borrowed 135,540 marks in Henry's name and without his author-

ity, from Italian merchants, and exacted payment of this debt (!) by the severest ecclesiastical penalties in England and Scotland. The defeat of Leicester at Evesham in 1265, placed Edmund in possession of vast estates, and constituted him founder of the great house of Lancaster. His seal as King of Sicily is still extant. But in 1263, Pope Urban IV. revoked the pretended grant after his predecessor had extorted enormous sums on the strength of it, and conferred Manfred's kingdom on Charles of Anjou. Then began indeed the woes of Sicily and the destruction of her liberties and her literature.

In this century indeed there was no continuation of the ancient Trinacria, the land where art and learning had made their home, of that independent warrior nation that had yielded to the might of Carthage, and then of Rome, only after protracted resistance,—of that Trinacria where Plato's instruction had inspired philosophy, and Timoleon's sceptre had confirmed authority,—that Trinacria which the constructive genius of Archimedes sheltered, and the soft, sweet muse of Theocritus and Virgil had moved to song. The cities which, under the glorious past had covered the land, were now no more. Of Agrigentum remained but ruins of her dead magnificence; Syracuse lived on but in broken health and tottering age; the quarries which made her fame did not yet however, protrude their gaunt bareness as they do now. Palermo and Messina abounded in wealth and brightness, and were the abode of gaiety and love. Messina was the "portus et porta Siciliæ" as Charles of Anjou termed it, the wayside tavern on the road to Asia, as it was really, and was rich by reason of the constant presence of the merchant, the pilgrim, and the crusader. The inhabitants decked themselves in precious silks, and

tiaras of pearls and diamonds sparkled in the bright Sicilian sun. The cowl of the priest and the turban of the Arab were equally conspicuous, and all was barter and peace. As in all great marts, luxury too often ran riot in debauchery, and piracy, gambling, and profligacy were as popular as they are to-day in Chicago. Palermo on the other hand was the abode of kings, the chief abode of Frederic of Swabia, the scene of his music, and his poetry, and the cradle of his tolerant philosophy,—"Palermo the Happy." The French invasion was a sudden tornado that left desolation and death.

Each of the dynasties that controlled the kingdom of the two Sicilies boasted of its patronage of literature. Robert of Anjou was the friend of Petrarch, and Boccaccio recognized the influence of his friend and predecessor in the court of Naples. The spirit that animated the population was not favorable to the spread of secular knowledge, and Naples languished for nearly two centuries. The soft air, the brilliant sky of Naples were then as soothing and intellectually enervating as they still are. Vigorous effort seems a waste of strength and a foolish labor where simple life is a luxury. The dreadful demoralization of the fourteenth century was the harvest of the vendetta and the stiletto, and "nothing was cheaper than the life of a man." Until the dominion of Alfonzo of Aragon was established over Naples the patronage of literature lay in abeyance. During the previous half century the dagger had rendered many princely thrones vacant, but Alfonzo walked unharmed in the midst of his subjects. His love of learning amounted to a passion. His tent was crowded with students who listened eagerly to the reading of Livy, Seneca, or the Scriptures in the vernacular. While courtiers destitute of tastes in that direction, were excluded, free access was permitted to

poor students who were eager to profit by the learned explanations of the reader. The king listened with profound attention to such prelections, both in his tent and his palace, not even brushing away the flies that settled on his face. On such occasions he would hand presents of confectionery or fruit to the reader when his voice seemed to weaken. With profound devotion Alfonzo received an alleged bone of the historian Livy, as of a saint, when it was sent to him in solemn mockery by the Venetians; and the manuscript of the golden chronicler was fearlessly opened and read when forwarded in genuine respect by Cosmo de Medici, although some affected to dread poison in the gift. Even the scenes associated with the history of classical writers became sacred in Alfonzo's eyes. Ovid's birthplace was piously saluted, and the royal engineers were forbidden to molest the gardens of Cicero at Gaeta. Alfonzo rivaled the most industrious of his contemporaries in accumulating books, even in that age when all princes formed libraries, and occasionally a pope followed their example like Nicolas V. No prince was more generous in gifts to learned men. Bartolomeo Fazio received 500 ducats a year for the composition of his histories, and again a still more generous donation of 1,500 ducats on the completion of his labors. The year in which Alfonzo died he distributed 20,000 ducats among men of learning. All this splendid vision of Neapolitan science and literature was doomed to fade into emptiness before the remorseless invasion of the French under Charles VIII. The Borgia crouched quietly within the walls of St. Angelo. Rome fell utterly beneath her angry and offended invader. The surrender of a few fortresses, a red hat, Cæsar Borgia a hostage, and the base unutterably doubly base combination of surrender and murder of Djem, brother of Sultan Baja-

zet, purchased a further lease of wantonness in crime, and Alexander again ventured into the day. From the associate of the pope and holding his court side by side with the pontiff in the Vatican, Djem became at once a victim and a prisoner. This prince was a pensioner of Alexander, who promised to murder him. He was surrendered indeed to the French king by treaty, but Italian poison was already in his veins. Borgia kept faith with the Turk, and cheated his conqueror at the same time.

From Rome Charles marched to Naples. The Spanish dynasty was supplanted by the French, February 22, 1495. Charles was welcomed and feted. The city was devoted to sensuality, even greater than usual in such cases.

With a ball in one hand, and a sceptre in the other, Charles paraded the city. But the presence of the conquerors rang in the doom of the literature of Naples. The treasures of Alfonzo and of Frederic were plundered by vandal hands, and dispersed for ever, and the most careful researches have been unable to recover their existence. The libraries contained vast treasures of Arabic, Greek, Roman, Hebrew and Italian books. The genius of Petrarch and Boccaccio and of a long line of the scholars of the early renaissance had been accumulated. The intellect of Naples was robbed of its granary, of the fruit of many harvests, garnered by many laborious reapers, and mental starvation has pressed hard on Naples and her people until the most recent period.

The University of Salerno founded by Frederic II. appeared likely to become a formidable rival to that of Naples; but Charles of Anjou practically suppressed it in favor of his capital. The tyranny of the French in Sicily surpassed the most atrocious persecutions since the slaughter of Languedoc. The city of Agosta made

a most gallant defense; but was surrendered, on its capture, to the unbridled ruffianism of the soldiery. When the troops for very weariness began to spare the wretched inhabitants who implored mercy, Guillaume l'Etendard, the worthy representative of Charles summoned an executioner noted for his prodigious strength, and had the inhabitants brought bound before him, to be slaughtered in his presence until that functionary, wearied with butchery, and covered with blood and sweat could no longer continue his hideous labor, until "they brought him some large cups of wine and then he was able to continue." Not a living soul was left in Agosta. A few trembling wretches fled where they best might, some toward the shore where they crowded into the few boats and all sank together. The mind sickens, and the hand almost refuses to recapitulate the horrors perpetrated on the miserable Sicilians. Not only private property was everywhere seized for the king and his followers, but the most degrading indignities perpetually inflicted on every age and sex. No amount of violent extortion could satisfy the rapacity of the king's armed ruffians. "The utmost industry of the people" to adopt the language of Michael Amari the historian of this horrible period "was frequently insufficient to pay all these impositions, and some surrendered their land and fled from their oppressors. Such as were not courageous enough for this bold step, and would submit to have their implements of agriculture, and their household goods seized, almost the very bread snatched from their mouths, still found all insufficient, and were thrown into prisons filled to overflowing with the innocent and guilty, with old and young, nobles and peasants, girls and children mingled indiscriminately together." Above all, the coinage was shamefully debased, a trick long and frequently prac-

ticed against merchants who belonged to the party opposed to the persecutor, as the most effectual method of inflicting beggary. Ferdinand II. in Bohemia, James II. in England, and Philip II. everywhere deliberately adopted the same wickedness. Charles of Anjou coined carlini and half carlini, nominally of gold, instead of the ancient Agostati that were really gold; and by edict required merchants to accept the base "brass money" at its nominal value. These excesses continued until 1282, the date of the Sicilian vespers.

The pursuit of literature was wholly impossible in such a condition of affairs, and of necessity books disappeared, academies were ruined, education died away. The splendid civilization of the Arabs, and Normans, greatly extended by the Hohenstaufens, was almost annihilated. With the Arabs Sicily became the seat of the same arts and sciences, the same architectural skill and taste, and the same agricultural knowledge and zeal that distinguished the provinces of Spain. Cotton was introduced from the fields of Syria; the sugar cane found by the first crusaders on the plains of Tripoli was now naturalized by the Sicilian Arabs; the manna bearing ash, the pistachio tree, and the noble papyrus owed their presence and utility in Sicily to the civilizing Arab occupants, before Cœur de Lion stormed the walls of Messina, or Count Roger struck his coins with the emblems of Christ and of Islam blended together, and published his constitutional edicts in Greek, Latin, Arabic, and Norman French. The Aragonese monarchs were invited by the Sicilian estates after the ignominious expulsion of the French, in 1282, and their descendants ruled until 1516. But their "Catholic majesties" did not favor toleration of thought in Sicily, especially as the inquisitors had long acquired supreme censorship over the mind. At

the last named date, Ferdinand the Catholic absorbed the dynasty, and it became a fief of the Spanish Crown. "The Catholic dynasty grew more and more zealous in protecting and aggrandizing the holy office, particularly the branch of the Austrian monarchs, who holding the cause of the Inquisition as at once the cause of God and their own were ever devotedly partial to it, and preserved it with zeal equal to their power," says Antonio Montitore, author of the literary history of Sicily. Charles V. confirmed all the privileges granted by his predecessors and added others. In 1535, he thanked the inquisitors for their labors, conferred on them fresh favors, on the occasion of his visit to Palermo, and in 1543, he conceded still new honors and wider jurisdiction. The nature of Charles' government of Sicily may be inferred from the barbarous truculence of his lieutenant, Toledo the viceroy. When Charles himself visited Naples in the early part of 1536, and learned how the doctrines of the Reformation had spread in Italy, and even in the states of the Church, he attempted to extend the holy office and its tender mercies to Naples also. But to the eternal honor of the Neapolitans they always manfully resisted that outrage. Charles was obliged to desist, and content himself with issuing a rigorous edict, condemning every person who had contact or correspondence with persons infected with, or suspected of Lutheranism to the loss of life and property. Books were rigidly prohibited all through the kingdom of the two Sicilies, academies were closed, all literary and scientific societies suppressed, and the mind of the people left to ignorance, demoralization, and beggary. Nevertheless the reformed doctrines spread in Spain and Sicily, and produced the horrors elsewhere noticed.

At the auto da fe in 1680, in Madrid, whose ashes and

cinders were dug up not many years ago, King Charles II. "fed the fire to burn the heretics, presented a faggot which he desired might be thrown on the fire in his name, to reduce the sinners to ashes." Not until 1724, did these fires die out. In that year the city of Palermo witnessed the closing scene of the dreadful series of autos da fe. On the 6th of April in that year there were burned in that city Friar Romualdo, and Sister Geltruda, the latter convicted of the well defined offenses of pride, scandal, hypocrisy, temerity, and self-conceit, and proved to be a Molinist, a Quietist, and a deceived heretic. She had despised confessors, sermons, spiritual exercises, and objected to hear Jesus Christ styled a bambino. For these dreadful crimes the poor sister, at the age of fifty-seven, and after twenty-five years imprisonment, and most probably demented by her sufferings in the inquisition, was slowly tortured to death. "First they set her hair on fire, in order to make her feel a little specimen of the force of fire." Next they applied fire to her pitched over-dress, to see whether the heat of the flames would open her eyes. But seeing her still obstinate they set fire to the wood in the furnace beneath her, which consuming the boards on which the woman was seated, she fell into the furnace and was there consumed. Friar Romualdo was forced to witness the terrible sufferings of his companion in martyrdom. But as he continued steadfast his pile also was lighted, and after similar sufferings he also fell into the vortex of flame. Their ashes were scattered to the winds. Twenty-six others remanded to the holy office were condemned to various punishments of whipping, the galleys, and imprisonment. Next day the populace were regaled by a continuation of the general carnival in the march of the poor creatures through Palermo to the tune of the hangman's whips.

It can be very well understood that the suppressions under their "Catholic Majesties," the edicts and violences by order of Charles V. and the still more dreadful cruelties of the Inquisition, worked a profound dread of free investigation in the minds of the Sicilians; and that their island that had been the granary of Rome, the garden of the Mediterranean, and the nursery of literature and progress, has been devoured by the rust of stagnation, and left to moulder in her ruins.

BOHEMIA

FERDINAND I.—A. D. 1547

Bohemia had rapidly recovered her strength after the close of the Hussite wars. Her national independence was practically recognized, and the steadfast patriotism of the people had elevated the country in learning and prosperity. The feelings of Bohemia became again strongly enlisted on the reformers' side after the rise of Luther; and she had announced her adhesion to the principles of the great reformer. The emperor Maximilian had acknowledged the necessity for toleration in religion, and was not disinclined toward the reformed opinions. The interregnum after his death; the long absence of Charles, and the slackness of the reins of government were all indirectly favorable to the protestant cause, inasmuch as no central authority existed through whom severities could be exercised. The power acquired by Charles V. by descent, and the success of his arms conferred on him an authority never before held by a German prince. The electors bent before him as much from personal feeling as from political apprehension.

Charles was in full sympathy with the sentiments of the Roman court in his desire to extirpate heresy. But his journeys through Germany, especially previous to the diet of Augsburg, 1530, convinced him that harsh measures would be unavailing. The appointment of Charles' brother Ferdinand as King of the Romans warned the protestant princes that danger menaced them. They clearly perceived the design of Charles to make the German crown hereditary in his family. The mock-election of Ferdinand at Cologne was therefore strongly opposed. The elector of Saxony openly protested, but the election was completed and Ferdinand was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, 1531. During the preparations for this event the protestant princes had assembled at Smalcalde, and formed a league for their own defence. Being thus united they invited the kings of France and England to give them recognition. As soon as Ferdinand's election was complete, steps were begun in the imperial chamber against some of the members of the league of Smalcalde on account of their religious opinions. Francis I. viewed these proceedings of the league with satisfaction, partly on account of his hostility to Charles, whom, however, he could not openly oppose as no provocation had been given. But William de Billay concluded an agreement with the princes, which although at first secret, produced important effects. Henry VIII. was at that moment so much engrossed with his own quarrels that he could return only promises. The threatening attitude of Solymán and his Turks compelled Charles to temporize; and he concluded a pacification at Nuremberg which was ratified in the diet at Ratisbon. By this treaty all processes begun against the protestant princes were abrogated, and the princes in turn agreed to unite with the emperor against the Turks. The German protestants

became thus a united body of considerable power and importance. Solyman invaded Hungary, and the best appointed army ever levied in Germany up to that time assembled near Vienna. Being joined by more troops from Bohemia, Austria, and the Low Countries, a combined force of one hundred and twenty thousand disciplined men, and a large body of auxiliaries stood ready to confront the Turks. Solyman could effect nothing and he marched back to Constantinople.

During several years Germany was greatly agitated by the peasant wars, and the religious controversies that occupied all minds. The reformatory spirit in England, and the rivalries between Francis I. and Charles prevented a combined effort to destroy the league of Smalkalde. Pope Paul III. at length assented to the assembling of a general council; but the Protestant princes were alarmed and renewed the league of Smalkalde for ten years, December 1535, signed September following. During that year Charles conducted his successful expedition to Tunis, rescuing ten thousand Christian slaves. War with France followed, but led to nothing. Paul III. continued to propose a council at Mantua. The Protestant princes objected to a council convened by the sole authority of the pope; and the leaguers strengthened themselves by the admission of new members, and especially the King of Denmark. A convention was held at Frankfort, by which the pacification of Nuremberg was confirmed by Charles, and ecclesiastical liberty strengthened. A few days after this convention, —1539,—Henry of Saxony succeeded his brother, and the Protestant cause was greatly fortified. The reformed religion was by him again established through his dominions, to the great joy of his people, and thus the Protestant league extended from the Rhine to the Baltic

and the Danube. During all this period literary activity throughout Germany and Bohemia was great. Books on devotion, on controversial theology were multiplied. Men's intellect became not only awakened but vigorously independent all through Europe. The association with the other reformers both before Vienna, and in the political discussions of the time introduced Bohemia to the full mind of the most advanced thinkers of the day. Books multiplied in Bohemia. The national spirit, and the ancient aspirations, as well as the free investigation in religious questions were all blended into an extensive national literature. Poetry, history, natural science as well as theology were all cultivated, and every town and hamlet in Bohemia heard a new song, and a fresh assertion of political and religious hope. The heart of the people was stirred again, and the country made rapid industrial progress. The people possessed an inheritance of national history, and glory, and an ancient and matured constitutional civil polity, far surpassing in age and completeness any other in Europe, and they now strove hard to revive and retain it.

Charles V. was harrassed by dissensions in Spain, arising from the objections of the Cortes to the taxes which he desired to levy. It was during these commotions the public archives of Simancas were burned. This disaster was not accidental. The distractions in the Low Countries, especially at Ghent, called Charles to that region, 1540. This trouble ended,—in sorrow for the people of Ghent,—Charles was again obliged to confront religious dissensions in Germany. The diet and conference at Ratisbon,—1541,—were unsatisfactory to the pope and the protestants. Charles was pressed by the Turks again, and had no leisure for persecution. Solyman wrested from Ferdinand of Austria a great part of

his territories, and seized Buda: but Germany being apparently united, Charles set out for Italy, and soon afterward led an expedition to Algiers. Francis I. allied himself with the Sultan, but effected nothing against Spain. The war was transferred to the Low Countries in 1543. During these transactions the King of the Romans courted the protestants assiduously in order to secure their assistance in defence of Hungary. The protestants now protested against the imperial chamber, as being subversive of the rights of the electorate, and the established laws of the empire,—a sort of star chamber,—and denied its jurisdiction. This proceeding furnished a precedent to parliament in England subsequently. All the events that now occurred, and those that followed for a century, afford the explanation of the motives of the famous long parliament. The policy of Cromwell in England and Ireland, and the subsequent policy of William III. are explained and elucidated by the history of persecution, massacre, and destruction of literature in Germany, and especially in Bohemia between this period and A. D. 1630. The retaliation which was meted out by Cromwell and William is most amply accounted for by the dreadful atrocities committed in Bohemia in the interest of the same power that endeavored to crush Cromwell and William, and the great social, political, literary, and industrial principles and interests they represented.

In 1544, the princes declined aid for Hungary unless full security for them and their domestic concerns was guaranteed; as they perceived that they were being employed in external matters in which they had little concern, and enjoyed no security at home. The old policy of distant crusades was revived by one party, but a wholesome lesson had been learned by the other.

They were being coaxed to weaken themselves, without the least obligation on the part of emperor or king or pope to respect them in their exhaustion. Charles especially courted them at the diet of Spires this year. But aid against Francis was imperiously demanded by Ferdinand. Charles was so pressed that he was obliged to consent to a recess whereby all rigorous edicts issued against protestants were suspended. The latter then declared war against Francis. War ensued, but peace was soon signed at Meaux. Charles had meditated the humiliation of the protestant power of Germany but the dread of the Turks restrained his action. The security of the protestants lasted only until the meeting of the council. The diet of worms opened 1545. Charles endeavored to obtain aid without giving the slightest protection or promise of it. The princes objected unless the recess of the late diet were held to be still in force, otherwise all their protection under it had now disappeared. In the meantime Charles persecuted the Lutherans in his hereditary provinces with extreme rigor, and many thousands of these people perished violently. Their literature was everywhere searched for and destroyed, and their schools and printing presses suppressed.

The educational impulse that had long been prevalent in the low countries, and had conferred immense benefits on the people, at this time received a tremendous shock from which it has never recovered. The Scriptures, and books of devotion had been most diligently compiled, and school books generously composed and distributed. But a revengeful political and religious war was now waged against the devoted men and women engaged in this very excellent and laudable undertaking, and against the useful literature they had supplied.

In Worms Charles at once silenced all protestant preachers. The princes soon afterward learned from England and Italy that the pope and emperor had formed a league for their destruction, and many suspicious proceedings confirmed this intelligence. Orders were issued in the low countries to raise troops with all speed and secrecy.

The council of Trent by condemning the opinions of the protestants confirmed the alarm of the princes. The Archbishop of Cologne,—one of the protestant party, was excommunicated, and his subjects absolved from their allegiance by Paul III. Charles had artfully concealed his preparations, had deliberately deceived the princes by false statements.

The extinction of German liberty, and of the reformed religion seemed to be Charles' purpose; and the powers prepared for their defence. Their deputies met at Ulm. A large force of seventy thousand foot, fifteen thousand horse and a hundred and twenty cannon, more than the number of the English forces at Waterloo, was speedily raised. The command was divided between the elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Hesse. Maurice of Saxony took the part of the emperor, and assailed one part of the electoral provinces, while Ferdinand with an army of Bohemians and Hungarians overran the other. The electoral troops were divided and their strength unwisely wasted. Charles advanced and obtained some advantages by reason of the dispersion of the electoral troops. Cities became alarmed, and surrendered in quick succession; the confederacy dissolved. All were treated with rigor, and ruinous fines were imposed. Francis I. died in 1547; and the war continued between Charles and the elector of Saxony. The latter despatched a body of men to maintain communications

with the Bohemians who were in arms on the side of the princes. April 23d, 1547, the two armies confronted each other on the Elbe opposite Muhlberg. The elector would not march on Sunday or he might have made good his retreat. The victory of the imperialists was decisive. Ferdinand was still more harsh to the fallen elector than Charles himself.

The victor gave law to Germany absolutely after this battle; but Ferdinand exercised inhuman rigor toward Bohemia. When raised to the throne he had solemnly confirmed the ancient liberties of his Bohemian subjects, and the constitution of their kingdom. But he soon despised a scepter which he could not transmit, owing to its elective character. He resolved therefore to overthrow the constitution of Bohemia utterly.

The spirit of religious liberty mingled with the old national feeling in support of civil rights. The nation was Hussite at heart and Ferdinand knew it. Not only had the Bohemians refused to aid Ferdinand against the league of Smalkalde, but they had formed an alliance with the elector of Saxony. They had bound themselves, nobles, and priests and people, to defend their ancient constitution, and to secure such additional safeguards as they thought essential. For this purpose Caspar Phlug had been chosen general, and an army of thirty thousand men raised and equipped. But indecision or divided counsels, such as had often destroyed Bohemian efforts, rendered their operations abortive. The battle of Muhlberg was fought, the elector deprived of his estates, the landgrave of Hesse a prisoner, and the league of Smalkalde dissipated before the Bohemians could be prevailed on to undertake any serious movement in aid of their allies across the frontier. As soon as Ferdinand approached their army dispersed. One

hour of blind John of Trochnow would have made a different showing. Ferdinand was vindictive, not only as a man, but as a zealot. His temper was severe, and his intolerance was bitter. The tears of his subjects who implored mercy were regarded with cold contempt. For the Bohemians was reserved the full measure of long cherished hatred, and papal vengeance. The Hussite spirit, but alas, not the Hussite temper was alive yet, and must be trampled out. The nation must be utterly subdued, and its worthies led to the scaffold before Ferdinand's ire could be appeased. He determined to root out the national spirit, and plant another. Many of the nobles were condemned to death, and confiscation and banishment were the mildest penalty for the inferior persons. The privileges of the people were all abolished, and the constitution suppressed. All his subjects were disarmed and loaded with oppressive taxes. From that date the former liberties of Bohemia were annihilated. But Ferdinand's advisors and ecclesiastical allies resolved on a still more deadly and disastrous blow. The entire literature of Bohemia was doomed to extinction. Since the days of Tabor a great revival of literature had taken place among the Tschech. Fourteen translations of the Old Testament, ten translations of the new, and a number of works of miscellaneous educational character had attested their zeal, and their taste for literature. Bohemia was well supplied with books on general subjects, and her nobles were among the most enlightened and patriotic, as her students were among the most zealous in Europe. All this was insufferable to Ferdinand and his friends. The education which was freely imparted all through the country raised Bohemia to a high level for the age, in arts and sciences. But her doom was pronounced by Jesuit malice, and executed by Austrian

revenge. Throughout all Bohemia the most rigorous and inquisitorial search was made for books. Every volume that could be wrenched from the inhabitants was seized. These books were piled into great heaps and consigned to the flames. All the results of the literary and educational efforts of Bohemia for centuries were obliterated, and the great holocaust of books extending in successive flaming piles all through the country at once attested the tastes of the people and the rage of their oppressors. Bohemian literature was nearly effaced from existence. The people were left without literary food totally; and were expected at the same time to yield the services that could only be rendered by a people supported in heart and mind by the genius of their race and nation. The remorseless bigotry of the age when Jesuit was a synonym for "destroyer," and Dominican only a translation of "murderer" was let loose against devoted Bohemia, to tread her laws, her spirit and her life into the mire. No other nation, ancient or modern has suffered what Bohemia has endured in her long agony, her persistent constancy to think and worship as she deemed best. Henceforward Bohemia was a ruin.

NOTE.—A more full and detailed account of these atrocities in Bohemia, and the still more dreadful cruelties of 1620-35, will be found in the "Story of Bohemia," which will succeed this volume.

THE HOLY OFFICE

VENICE, NAPLES, FLORENCE, MONTALTO, MILAN
PAUL III., PIUS V., PAUL IV., CHARLES V
16TH CENTURY

Pope Paul III. founded the congregation of the Holy Office, April, 1543. Greatly resisted at Venice, at length permission to establish the tribunal was conceded, on

condition that a number of lawyers and magistrates should be present to protect citizens. The most dreadful massacres were perpetrated in Italy, and extended to distant provinces. In Istria the Inquisition was early introduced, and Annibale Grisone was sent thither as inquisitor, in 1546. He read everywhere the pope's bull requiring all persons to inform against all whom they suspected of heresy: he also delivered a violent tirade against those suspected, and ordered all persons on pain of death by fire, to deliver up prohibited books. Every house was searched, and all books seized and destroyed. At Venice, Locarno, Faenza, Lucca, the Milanese, Tuscany, Piacenza, Siena, Naples dreadful atrocities were committed against persons who accepted the reformed opinions. The effect of these horrors on general trade and literature was very disastrous.

Whole streets in Naples were deserted. The spirit of inquiry in one direction necessarily led to investigation in another. In Naples literary academies had been formed for the mutual improvement of the members, and the cultivation of learning. The Academies of the Sireni, Ardenti, and Incogniti cultivated poetry and science, and their acknowledged success resulted in much benefit to the literature, industries, commerce and wealth of Naples. But these useful academies were closed officially by the viceroy, really by the inquisitors under the general commission from Rome.

In Calabria most revolting barbarities were perpetrated against the Waldensian refugees of Santo Xisto; and still more horrible against those of Montalto, in 1560. Here the poor people were shut up in a building, and taken out one by one and literally butchered, the executioner butcher, who cut the throats of the victims, hold-

ing the dripping knife in his teeth while he dragged out one wretched sufferer after another.

At Rome, under Pius V.—the Piuses never corresponded with their assumed name—some were hanged, or burnt or beheaded every day. The jails were not numerous enough to hold the prisoners. These persons were usually tortured. The individuals thus massacred were in many cases distinguished for excellence of life, and not a few were eminent in learning and accomplishments. These scenes were enacted wherever the least appearance was presented of an acceptance of the reformed opinions. Jews also were constant victims. During this dreadful period the same war was relentlessly waged against literature. The theological faculty of Louvain, already distinguished for its condemnation of Greek and Hebrew, had been required by Charles V. to draw up a list of books which all people were forbidden to read. Later, an imperial decree rendered this prohibition of general application in the empire. In 1559, Paul IV. determined on making this catalogue more sweeping, and its authority universal. A list of books was accordingly drawn up divided into three classes. The first consisted of authors whose entire works were absolutely forbidden. The next were writers, some of whose works were condemned. The third class consisted of books printed since 1519, anonymously, and of all of the same description that might appear thereafter. A list of more than sixty printers was subjoined whose publications were peremptorily prohibited, no matter what the subject or the language. Deputies were despatched throughout Italy to enforce these regulations.

The Medici family at Florence had been long known as encouragers of knowledge and as collectors of books on all useful subjects. The city was justly proud of its

libraries. A remonstrance was presented to the eminent lawyer Torelli stating that the barbarous papal decree would inflict dreadful loss on Florence, would ruin the printers and booksellers, and destroy all the books printed in Germany, Paris, Lyons, and elsewhere, including Bibles, Greek and Roman classics, and other works of great value. The Medicean College represented the great injury that must ensue to the study of science; and even some of the inquisitors hesitated. But the Cardinal of Alexandria insisted on the promulgation of the papal decree. The duke Cosmo so far submitted as to permit the sentence to be carried into effect as to all books contrary to religion, and treating of magic and astrology.

March 8, 1559, the auto da fe was held. The books were brought out with great formality and committed to the flames in the piazzas of San Giovanni, and Santa Cruce;—maximum holocaustum et placabile Domino—again. The book trade suffered severely, and the cities of Basle, Zurich, and Frankfort were serious losers. But the same destruction continued at Rome, and all through Italy. Foreigners were both disgusted and alarmed. Pope Paul IV. burned at Rome the works of Cyprian, Jerome, and Augustine because they were polluted by annotations by Erasmus. So great was the destruction of books committed by this pope that the professors declared that lectures must cease if the edict continued. The magistrates of Frankfort and other cities of Germany urged the Senate of Venice to prohibit the introduction of a decree that must destroy the trade in books. An Italian writer of that age, Natalis Comes, in his history of his own time says that “the number of books committed to the flames was immense, so that if they had all been collected in one place, it would have

equaled the burning of Troy. There was not a library public or private that escaped the disaster, or which was not nearly annihilated." Another contemporary wrote to a friend in Germany, "Why do you think of setting forth new works at a time when almost all those that have been published are laid under an interdict. No one here will, in my opinion, venture for many years to write anything except it may be a letter to an absent friend. It is in vain for you to labor on the translation of Demosthenes, or the various readings of the Bible. Faernus has been engaged several days in clearing and purging his library; and I intend to commence the same operation to-morrow lest some of the prohibited goods should be found in my possession. This shipwreck or rather conflagration of books will, I doubt not, have the effect of deterring your learned men from writing, and making your printers cautious of what they undertake. As you regard me and yourself keep your desk close, lest anything which reaches you should be revealed." Even the tolerated works were disfigured and mangled, or smeared over with glutinous matter so as to be illegible. Munster's *Cosmography*, and works of a similar nature were condemned as impious. Domiciliary visits were inaugurated to discover prohibited books. Persons unwilling to have their books burned before their faces buried them. In one instance some concealed books remained immured for a century and a half in an old house in Urbino, and only discovered in 1728.

SPAIN

PAUL IV.—PHILIP II.—15TH AND 16TH CENTURY

Notwithstanding the painful experiences of the reformers generally throughout Europe, the Scriptures were early introduced into Spain in the vernacular. Many persons of learning and distinction professed the reformed doctrines; and great was the displeasure of the Spanish authorities. Charles V. had become, if possible, more fanatical against the "heretics" in his declining than he had been in his early years: his son Philip was a persecutor by nature, and was imbued with inhuman animosity against all free thought, in politics and religion, by his Jesuit preceptors. After the death of Charles, Philip applied to Paul IV. for an extension of the authority of the Inquisition which had been introduced into Spain in 1478, and first inquisitors named 1480. The dreadful tribunal was established at Seville, in 1481. By a singular coincidence the same year that witnessed the appointment of the first inquisitors,—1480, also witnessed the enactment of a most enlightened statute in favor of books and literature. Isabella had always been a munificent collector of books, and princes generally considered a large and splendid library as a most appropriate appendage to the royal palace. Since 1477, when Theodoric, the German, "one of the principal persons in the discovery and practice of the art of printing books, which he had brought with him into Spain at great trouble and expense, with the design of ennobling the libraries of the kingdom" had established himself in the country, the increase of books in Spain had been

greatly encouraged. "Monopolies for printing and selling books," says Prescott, "for a limited period, answering to the modern copyright, were granted to certain persons, in consideration of their doing so at a reasonable rate." By the law of 1480, a great advance was made in this system. Foreign books of every description were allowed to be imported into the kingdom free of all duty. Valencia has the honor of establishing the first press,—1474. By the end of the fifteenth century presses were in active operation in all of the principal cities. While the advantages of this liberal provision were not directly contravened they were undermined by an ordinance dated at Toledo, July 8th, 1502, declaring that "as many of the books sold in the kingdom were defective, or false or apocryphal, or pregnant with ruin and superstitious novelties, it was ordered that no book should thereafter be printed without special license from the king, or some person regularly commissioned by him for the purpose." The commissioners named were mostly ecclesiastics. Under Charles V. this censorship was monopolized by the Council of the Supreme. The immediate agents were also drawn from the inquisition whose ways were not gentle, and whose principles were by no means in accord with the ordinance of 1480, which had conferred much wealth and industry on the kingdom.

February 15th, 1558, Paul IV. issued a summary brief renewing all former decisions of councils and popes against "heretics," and charging Valdes the inquisitor general to proceed to punish all the guilty "whether bishops, archbishops, patriarchs, cardinals, or legates, barons, counts, marquises, dukes, princes, kings, emperors." This terrible brief was published in Spain with the approbation of Philip. Valdes in concurrence with the Council of the Supreme, the highest court of the

Inquisition, prepared instructions for all the tribunals directing them to search for heretical books, and make an auto da fe of all such as should be discovered, including many works not hitherto in any index.

At this period also was framed the draconian law of Philip ordaining the death penalty against all who sold, bought, read, or possessed any book forbidden by the Holy office. The inquisitor general was authorized to proceed with an examination of all bishops and patriarchs, and to commence their proceedings at once. The most sanguinary enactments were passed against persons who had once accepted the doctrines of Luther, even if they were willing to abjure them. All this tremendous enginery of terror against an opinion! Among the most eminent victims was Constantine Ponce de la Faenti, former chaplain of Charles V., and a man of great learning. A widow, a lady of opulence, had been imprisoned about the same time, and her son had hidden some chests of books. This fact was disclosed by a servant, and the books were delivered up in terror by young Francisco Bertran. A partition wall in a retired part of the house being broken down, the books which had been deposited there by Constantine were disclosed. Among them was one in the handwriting of Constantine himself, consisting of controversial arguments against indulgences, purgatory and other peculiar tenets of Rome. When Charles was informed of the imprisonment of his favorite chaplain he said,—“If Constantine be a heretic he is a great one.” Constantine’s incarceration continued up to the time of the new proceedings instituted by Philip. When Charles was dead the prisoner was removed from the apartment he had hitherto occupied, and thrust into a “low, damp, and noisome vault,” where he was heard to exclaim,—“O my God, were there no Scythians, or cannibals, or

pagans still more savage, that Thou hast permitted me to fall into the hands of these baptized fiends?"

All through Spain the people and the princes and the princesses were regaled with the spectacle of autos da fe where Jews, Mahomedans and Protestants were burned together. In the Eastern provinces the chief employment of the inquisitors consisted in searching for and destroying heretical books which were introduced from France or by sea. In Logrono, Saragossa and Barcelona the tribunals were closely occupied. In 1568, the Council of the Supreme warned these tribunals that the Calvinists in France and England boasted of the progress of reform in Spain, and of the facility with which they could communicate with protestants of Bearn and elsewhere on the signing of the treaty of peace between France and Spain. The inquisitor general learned that large consignments of books had been prepared for Spain. In some cases these were placed in casks of wine, and passed the custom house without detection. Many copies of the Spanish Bible of Cassiodoro de Reyna published at Basle, 1569, found their way into Spain in this manner.

The Inquisition also extended its attention to those who exported horses; and in 1569, the Council of the Supreme added to the annual edict a denunciation against all who should send horses to the French protestants; and afterward against all who exported horses across the Pyrenees.

March 20, 1521, Leo X. issued two briefs, one addressed to the constable, the other to the admiral of Castile, who governed the kingdom as viceroys, requiring them to adopt measures to prevent the importation of the books of Luther and his friends. In the month following, Cardinal Adrian directed the inquisitors to seize

all books of this description. When this cardinal became pope in succession to Leo X. he repeated the order, —1523, and required the Corregidor of Giupuscoa to furnish the officers of the Inquisition every assistance in carrying the order into effect. The works of Luther were then much read in Spain, and the fact was widely known. This circumstance drew from Erasmus the famous sarcasm, "that the Spaniards favored Luther in order that they might be thought Christians." The excellent Juan de Avila, known as the Apostle of Andalusia did not escape. In 1525, the monks threw him into prison on a charge of Lutheranism. His books were included in the list of prohibited books. The writings of Erasmus created even more irritation in the mind of the monks than those of Luther. In the Ecclesiastical Junta held at Madrid in 1527, his "Colloquies," his "Praise of Folly," and his Paraphrase of the New Testament were censured, and prohibited to be explained in schools, or to be sold or read. But the opinions of Luther were industriously spread. In 1530, the Council of the Supreme addressed a circular letter to the inquisitors of the kingdom, informing them that Luther's works were being introduced in the form of notes to Catholic writings, and requiring them to add to the annual denunciation a clause relating to such works, and to search all public libraries in order to discover them. This instruction was subsequently made the foundation of domiciliary visits all through the country. In the following year all who read or kept such books were denounced, and all who did not inform on others who read them. By these means persistently continued the mental energy of Spain was prostrated. A terror of literature seized on the people, and produced a morbid aversion to independent investigation which has broken

ENGLAND

HENRY VIII.—EDWARD VI.—16TH CENTURY

During the confusion attendant on the suppression of the monasteries in England some public decrees were issued in that country against books. The libraries of the monasteries were dispersed and neglected but no formal war was made on them. They were not valued and were thrown about in the general wreck. For the most part they suffered from neglect. Bale, bishop of Ossory, has left a description of the fate of these libraries that possesses a melancholy interest. In 1549, he writes to King Edward VI.—“But this is highly to be lamented of all them that have a natural love to their country, either yet to learned antiquity, which is a most singular beauty to the same, that in turning over of the superstitious monasteries so little respect was had to their libraries for the safeguard of those noble and precious monuments. *

* Avarice was the other despatcher which hath made an end both of our libraries and books, to the no small decay of the commonwealth. A great number of them which purchased these superstitious mansions, reserved of those library books some to scour their candlesticks, and some to rub their boots; some they sold to the grocers and soap sellers, and some they sent over the sea to the book-binders, not in small numbers, but at times whole ships full, to the wondering of the foreign nations. Yea the universities of this realm are not all clear in this detestable fact. But cursed is that belly that seeketh to be fed with so ungodly gains, and so deeply shameth his natural countrv. I know a merchantman, which shall at

this time be nameless, that bought the contents of two noble libraries for forty shillings' price; a shame it is to be spoken. This stuff hath he occupied in the stead of grey paper by the space of more than these ten years; and yet he hath store enough for as many years to come."

The testimony of Fuller in his quaint church history of Britain deserves quotation: "As brokers in Long Lane when they buy an old suit buy the linings together with the outside; so it was conceived meet that such as purchased the buildings of monasteries should in the same grant have the libraries (the stuffing thereof) conveyed unto them. And now these ignorant owners, so long as they might keep a ledger book or terrier by direction thereof to find such straggling acres as belonged to them, they cared not to preserve any other monuments. The covers of books, with curious brass bosses and clasps, intended to protect, proved to betray them, being the baits of covetousness. And so many excellent authors, stripped out of their cases, were left naked to be buried or thrown away. * * * I deny not but that in this heap of books there was much rubbish; legions of lying legends good for nothing but fuel, volumes full fraught with superstition which notwithstanding might be useful to learned men. * * But beside these, what beautiful Bibles, rare Fathers, subtile Schoolmen, useful Historians, ancient, middle, modern; what painful comment were here among them! What monuments of mathematics all massacred together; seeing every book with a cross was condemned for popish, with circles for conjuring. Yea, I may say that then holy divinity was profaned, physic hurt, and a trespass, yea a riot committed on Law itself, and more particularly the history of former times then and there received a dangerous wound whereof it halts to this day,

and without hope of a perfect cure, must go a cripple to the grave."

Bad as all this was, there was here no crusade against books as in Spain, Bohemia and Malabar, in France, Germany, and Italy. Formal authority for book destruction issued by royal mandate, during the reformation in England first proceeded from Henry VIII. This prince, whose reform was chiefly if not exclusively for royal and political purposes, permitted or directed a king's letter to be sent from the council, in February, 1550, authorizing certain commissioners "to cull out all superstitious books, as missals, legends, and such like, and to deliver the garniture of the books, being either gold or silver, to Sir Anthony Aucher." This order seems to have been limited to the king's own library at Westminster, whither some books from monastic libraries had been conveyed. In the same year a great number of volumes of the fathers and schoolmen in the libraries at Oxford were burned in the market place. Independently of the proceedings against the monasteries the translations of the bible attracted the attention of parliament and the king. In June, 1530, a memorial of the House of Commons declared that the acts against errors given by reason of frantic books compiled, published, and made in the English tongue were badly administered and required more strict laws. The king accordingly issued a proclamation requiring every person "which hath the new testament or the old translated into Englyshe, or any other boke of holy scripture so translated, beinge in printe" to surrender them within fifteen days "as he wyll avoyde the kynge's high indignation and displeasure." Many bibles were burned under this proclamation and Bishop Stokesley presided at the auto da fe. July 8th, 1546, another proclamation was issued which ordered

that "no man, woman, or person of what estate, condition or degree soever they be, shall, after the last day of August next ensuing, receive, have, take, or keep in his or their possession the text of the New Testament of Tyndal's or Coverdale's translation in English, nor any other than is permitted by the act of parliament, made in the session of parliament holden at Westminster in the 34th and 35th year of his majesty's most noble reign." This proclamation contained the comprehensive ukase that no person whatever should possess "any manner of bookes printed or written in the English tongue, which shall be set forth in the names of Frith, Tyndal, Wickliff, Joy, Roye, Basil, Bale, Barnes, Coverdale, Turner, Tracy, or by any of them; or any other booke or bookes containing matter contrary to the act made in the year 34 or 35." All such books were to be delivered to the bishop, who should have them remorselessly burned. This order was inexorably carried out.

Woolsey had warned his clergy that if they did not exert themselves to suppress printing, printing would certainly suppress them. The king could enjoy the stinging personalities hurled at the ambitious son of the Ipswich butcher, but he was eager to sustain his own power and exhibit it. He accordingly issued an Index Expurgatorius, anathematizing the new learning of protestantism as heretical. Woolsey had Luther's books burned at St. Paul's and presided at the ceremony. But he little dreamed that in less than ten years the "Defender of the Faith" would crush the cardinal himself and his pretensions, as advocate of papal supremacy, as pestilent and seditious. But the cardinal's anticipations were justified by the result. The flowing tide of literary investigation could not be staid by his order; and it soon beat high upon the sands leaving the traces

of former and ruder steps thereon as memorials of an earlier and far less developed age.

Under an act passed in the 3d and 4th Edward VI., entitled "An act for the abolishing and putting awaie of diverse books and images," a large number of interesting works were destroyed. This statute is here given:

"The Booke of Common Prayer having been set forth, it is enacted that all bookes called antiphoners, myssales, scrayles, processionales, manuelles, iournales, ordinales, or other books or writings whatsoever, heretofore used for service of the church, written or prynted in the Inglyshe or Latyn tongue shall be—clerelie and utterlie abollished, extinguished, and forbidden for ever to be used or kept in this realm or elleswhere within any of the King's dominions."

Persons in possession of such books are immediately to give them up to the authorities, who within three months are to deliver them to the archbishop or bishop of the diocese "to be openlye burnt or otherwise defaced and destroyed." Persons found with such books in their possession after the time specified are for the first offense to pay a fine of twenty shillings, for the second, four pounds, and for the third, to be imprisoned at the King's will. If the civil or ecclesiastical authorities fail to carry out their instructions within forty days they are to be fined £40.

"Provyded always, and be it enacted by thauctoritie aforesaid that any person or persons may use, kepe, have, and reteyne any prymars in the Englishe or Latyn tongue, set forthe by the late Kinge of famous memorie, Kinge Henrie theight, so that the sentences of invocation or prayer to saintes in the same prymars be blotted or clerelye put out of the same, anie thinge in this act to the contrarye notwithstandinge." Statutes of the Realm, Vol. iv., pp. 110, 111.

GENEVA

MICHAEL SERVETUS—JOHN CALVIN—THE MAGISTRATES—
16TH CENTURY.

About the middle of the year 1553, a stranger of unprepossessing appearance entered Geneva, then accustomed to see numerous refugees seeking the shelter of its walls. To say that he fled from France because certain popish judges had condemned him to the flames for heresy, would not be to describe that stranger, but rather to confound him with the crowd of outlaws for whom innumerable funeral piles were then prepared in countries devoted to the faith of Rome; but to say that, three months thereafter, that very man, outside the walls of Geneva, died in the flames to which the same crime of heresy had caused him to be condemned by protestant magistrates,—that is to name Servetus. Rilliet, trans. by Tweedie, p. 62.

The violent death of this man at the hands of men who owed their own position to sentiments the very opposite of those they enforced on this occasion, has caused much historical confusion, as well as illogical asperity of language.

Michael Revés, corruptly latinised into Servetus, was a native of Villanova in Aragon, born about 1509, the same year as his friend, antagonist, and finally his foe, John Calvin.

Liberal views on philosophy and religion were then very prevalent in Spain, being a part of the great intellectual movement which made Spain great and strong in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a painful con-

trast to her present decrepitude, the result of the suppression of her literature. Servetus attended prelections at the University of Sarragossa, and imbibed very free sentiments from the strong mind of Peter Martyr de Angleira. For a time his attention was devoted to the law; but the spirit of theological speculation then engrossed all minds. In 1529, on the invitation of Juan Quintana, a Franciscan friar Servetus entered the service of Charles V. He attended the Emperor to Bologna, where the empire "knelt in the mud" at the feet of the pope. He was present at the famous diet of Augsburg in 1530. Servetus, however, could not conscientiously accept the Trinitarian dogmas of his day. Reasoning on that subject is useless. It is exclusively a matter of belief, and belief without reason is an agnostic. It is very easy to believe any suggestion of the imagination, around which the intellectual faculties have subsequently thrown a net work of self-persuasion, aided by picturesque phraseology. Faith in the Trinity may be saving theology, but the mysteries of the great doctrine cannot be reached by reason. Servetus could not reach them. In the combative mood which seems natural to speculative divines, great errors in knowledge, and serious injuries to intellect were involved in the Trinitarian doctrine, according to the judgment of Servetus, and he composed a work in seven books, entitled "*De Trinitatis Erroribus, Libri Septem.*"

No question here is discussed as to the soundness or the utility of his views. He is alone responsible for them. His book was composed in 1531. It bears the author's name, "*Per Michael Serveto, alias Revés, ab Aragonia Hispanum, 1531.*" Strasburg and Basle chiefly gave this work to the world, and the reformers of Switzerland were greatly scandalized. Being disappointed

in the Alpine republic Servetus went to Paris. Here he passed under the pseudonym of Villeneuve, from the name of his native place. Between 1529 and 1533 there was a calm in the religious storm in France. About the latter year Servetus and Calvin met. Calvin meantime had studied at the college of La Marche in Paris, and in 1526, passed to the Montaign, strictly a clerical seminary. He then destined himself for the priesthood. But the mighty, and in many respects illustrious author of the "Institutes" eagerly embraced the sentiments then blooming into vigorous life; and at Bourges openly espoused the Reformation. Two such earnest students as Calvin and Servetus necessarily met, probably at Paris. Compelled to experience the intolerance of Rome against all "modern thought," of which the Reformation is the most emphatic expression, and obliged to accept the friendly shelter of Geneva in 1536, yet neither Calvin nor any other person of his day seems to have imbibed the true philosophy and wisdom of toleration. Christendom had been schooled for so many ages in persecution, and the fires which consumed opponents had blazed on so many thousand altars, kindled every one into a "burning fiery furnace" by the chief priest who claimed the highest divine commission to light them, that death by fire had become the recognized penalty for heterodoxy, and the public mind was saturated and satisfied with that association.

The year 1546 found Servetus at Lyons. Here he became intimate with John Frelon, a publisher, and a friend of Calvin. The old discussion between Servetus and Calvin was now renewed by correspondence. It descended to asperity. Servetus sent his opponent a volume of his works and it gave grave offense. The author undertook to prove his positions in person at Geneva. A

very severe letter from Calvin to Farel expressed the feelings of an angry man speaking of an event not at all deemed probable. "He offers to come here," said the writer, "if I approve; but I will not pledge my faith to him; -for if he did come, if I have authority any here, I should never suffer him to go away alive." This was bad; but it was better than giving him a safe conduct in order to ensnare him thereby, as was done with Hus, and Luther and the Syrian bishops and others.

At Charlieu, near Lyons, Servetus practised as a physician. From there he proceeded to Vienna. He was installed in the archiepiscopal palace, and his popularity as a physician became extensive. His leisure hours were devoted to literary work, and he issued a new edition of a former edition of "Ptolemy," dedicated in fulsome panegyric to the archbishop. At Vienna he was apprehended by the Inquisition, condemned to the flames, and committed to prison to await execution. His medical skill, however, had procured him grateful friends, as medical skill has often done, even barbarians and savages being appreciative of the healer's art, and all men being respectful to it except inquisitors. Servetus found his prison doors easy on their hinges, and he was reserved for a more humiliating fate.

Calvin was at that time engaged in an acrimonious contest with opponents in Geneva. Servetus probably hoped to receive assistance from the opposite party. He was in fact countenanced by them, and they concealed the fact of his presence in the city. The mind of all protestants was at that moment excited to the highest degree of indignation and alarm by the furious assaults and persecutions daily practised by the catholic party everywhere. The Reformation was seriously depressed. In England Mary Tudor had just inaugurated her legal-

ized murders. France was blazing with the fires of protestant martyrs. Geneva, the chief refuge of Calvin's fleeing countrymen, was menaced with fatal disunion, and an alliance with the furious enemies over the frontier on the part of one of the contestants. The peril from this source, so often fatal to the reformed cause, was alarming to the magistrates. Servetus was an uncompromising and stealthy foe in league with domestic antagonists within the gates. His books were subversive of all the principles on which the reform, and the republic of Geneva were established. The hour was very dark, and the horizon flamed with a prairie fire of blazing martyr victims which threatened to envelop soon the small oasis where the fleeing cultivators and shepherds had found refuge. Servetus was arrested when about to retire to Zurich, although this intention was not known. According to the practice of the time he was denied counsel. During the proceedings the inquisitors at Vienna sent a demand to Geneva for the surrender of their prisoner.

Either they craved a monopoly of cruelty, or they did not anticipate an *auto da fe* at the hands of protestants. In both expectations they were unhappily disappointed. They had inculcated the spirit of destruction for centuries, and now, in one supremely painful moment, their lessons were put in practice by their opponents. The history of those ages is so blurred with tears and dabbled with the blood of reforming victims that the perpetrators of these acts of cruelty sought a mad relief in their loud denunciation of Calvin. The one opportunity to retort has been eagerly seized and made the most of. But it is a retort and a painful one. The old commingling of "heresy" and "sedition" that had been the excuse for unnumbered executions by Roman

agents, princes, and prelates, is now furiously denounced in the case of Servetus. The recrimination is justified. The condemnation of Servetus was equally wicked, impolitic, and illogical. But it is not for the Roman church or her advocates to reproach any other with cruelty. From the imprisonment of Roger Bacon, the founder of "modern thought" to the murder of Cagliostro, and the dungeons of Naples only opened in all their horrors by the hand of Garibaldi, the gripe of Rome has been vengeful to destroy every attempt at free thought. She does not employ fire and faggot now, but she ostentatiously vaunts of the Jesuits and inquisitors as "glorious."

Servetus was condemned to the fire, and his books shared the sentence. He died in the fire October 27th, 1553, exclaiming "Jesu thou son of the eternal God have compassion on me!" The cruelty to Servetus remains a blot. It is one on one side of the great controversy. But ten times ten thousand must be registered against the other side with equal justice.

ENGLAND

ELIZABETH—16TH CENTURY

The reign of this sovereign was a troubled period. Political and religious vehemence were arrayed against each other both on the side of the reformers and their adversaries. The Christian world was divided as it had never been before. During many ages much latitude of opinion and expression had existed within the pale of the church. Long before the twelfth century there had been phases of belief that did not proceed so far as to

cause disruption. From the twelfth to the sixteenth century elements of contrariety had multiplied. These gradually fraternized if they did not coalesce. Still the outward unity of the church had been preserved. In the sixteenth century the formal separation of the progressive and the reactionary elements took place. As one result many shades of opinion that would have been passed unnoticed or been lightly passed over were now fiercely proscribed. One kind of sentiment combined on one side, and the opposite sentiment combined on the other. Previously much of both had existed together. The church so called was henceforward arrayed against a series of sentiments which had always existed within her pale, and were now distinctly embodied in a formal system. For example, some evangelical doctrine and practice had not only existed, but had been promoted in the church before the Reformation. After that event evangelical doctrine and practice stood on an independent station, outside and opposed to the section dominant hitherto. The especial doctrines of Rome have distinguished her more clearly and exclusively since the Reformation than before. An evangelical believer might have lived in the church, provided he did not oppose himself to her novelties, or avow himself an advocate of evangelical tastes. Since the sixteenth century the acceptance of Rome's peculiar tenets must be expressly and avowedly signified by every one of her members. The establishment of religious orders, and especially the Jesuits, and the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, for the express object of making war on the reformed, the former openly, the latter insidiously, and through instrumentalities apparently charitable, has solidified the powers of Rome into a compact army, and given her a status of declared opposition, not only to all religious,

but political authority that does not bend before her, and place her foot on the neck of every civilization. There must be neither Greek nor Russian, Slavonian nor Teuton, Goth nor Frank, American nor Malay, Chinese nor Arab. All must be Rome.

Queen Elizabeth's government was the first to feel the combined assault against the ecclesiastical and political institutions established in England under the reformed system. Every device of bold invasion, with all the forces of armed kingdoms, and every ingenuity of secret conspiracy, was adopted to crush the nascent realm by force from without, and corrupt it by falsehood and defamation of its leaders within. The press teemed with libels, and assaults upon the Queen and her ministers. Every malevolent suggestion, and every casuistical argument that could poison the minds of the people was assiduously published under the authority of Rome, and her chief agents. February 25, 1570, Pope Sixtus V. issued his famous bull against the Queen, a copy of which was nailed to the door of the bishop of London, May 15. The pope describes her as a bastard and an usurper, the persecutor of God's saints, and declares that it would be an act of virtue to be repaid with plenary indulgence and forgiveness of all sins to lay violent hands on her, and deliver her to the power of her enemies. Philip of Spain is declared to be the rightful King of England, the Defender of the Faith, and the Duke of Parma is his lieutenant. The Queen was not slow in retorting in strong racy English to her detractors. Cardinal Allen wrote a pamphlet about the time of the pope's bull; and the Queen describes him as "a lewd born subject of ours now become an arch traitor," and she stigmatizes the pamphlet as "a vile, slanderous, and

blasphemous book containing as many lies 'as lines." This pamphlet was translated into English, and a large edition printed for distribution in England when the enemy should land. It was entitled "An admonition to the nobility and people of England and Ireland concerning the present warres, made for the execution of his Holiness sentence by the highe and mightie King Catholike of Spain."

"The admonition accused the queen," says Mr. Motley, "of every crime and vice that can pollute humanity, and it was filled with foul details unfit for the public eye in these more decent days." Another pamphlet was also prepared for still wider distribution when the Armada should be successful. It was "A Declaration of the Sentence and Deposition of Elizabeth the usurper and pretended Queene of England." These prints afford some indication of the furious animosity that converged against Queen Elizabeth's government. At the moment when these preparations were being made the queen was in negotiation with the duke of Parma, and although he was in communication with the King of Spain on this very subject, and was chief agent in carrying out the scheme of invasion, he had the audacity to deny all knowledge of the bull or of the admonition. At that moment he had in his desk a letter from the King of Spain thanking him for having had the Cardinal's letter translated at Antwerp.

During Elizabeth's entire reign, tracts and pamphlets, political and religious, were published in great numbers. The antagonism between the various sectaries and the episcopacy was a fruitful source of contention. Many tracts published by the "Brownists" the "Family of Love," the Puritans, the Jesuits, the Quakers, the Anabaptists, and others distracted the public mind. The

"Martin Marprelate" series of controversial publications attracted much attention, and caused some severity. Seditious libels, real or supposed, created constant irritation, and many persons were hanged and otherwise severely dealt with for their connection with these publications. The struggle of the Hollanders for their independence, and the efforts of Spain to subdue them, the extreme severities practiced in the Low Countries, and the alarm felt in England lest Spain should establish herself permanently on the German Ocean, rendered the watchfulness and jealousy of Elizabeth's government constantly necessary against all publications tending to weaken the union of the nation. The liberties of mankind for all time were in peril, and had the Armada succeeded the United States of America would not have been possible. The severe precautions necessary during the civil war of 1861-1865 afford some means of forming a judgment of the defensive measures necessary against treason within and without in the far ruder times of the sixteenth century. But during all this period no crusade against literature was undertaken. On the contrary, books multiplied. The mind of the English nation experienced a mighty expansion. Every subject of human interest was studied. The most profound philosophical investigations were entered on with zeal and ability. All the depths of the human mind and heart were explored. Humanity rose to a loftier level. Man became again "a little lower than the angels" in the mighty age that circumnavigated the earth, measured the solar system, and illumined the human intellect for all time by the thrice illustrious genius of Shakespeare. From the age of Elizabeth a great light shone, and the lustre of literature has dispelled mental darkness for ever.

THE GRISONS

INQUISITORS—PHILIP II.—16TH CENTURY

During the persecutions attendant on the suppression of the Reformation in Italy, many refugees from that country fled to the ancient republic of the Grisons, a mountainous district in the higher Alps to the southeast of Switzerland. Here are the sources of the Rhine and the Inn; and here in the fifteenth century dwelt the descendants or successors of the ancient Rhoetians. At that period the dominion of the crowd of ecclesiastical and secular chiefs who had gained dominance, and held it by robber castles, was thrown off by the people after the example of the Swiss. The Grisons republic consisted of a union of three leagues, the Grey League, that of God's House, and that of the Ten Jurisdictions. The government was the ideal of democracy. A central diet whose authority was extremely limited represented the combined force of all the smaller jurisdictions, each of which had the full right to regulate its own internal affairs. An accession of territory towards the beginning of the sixteenth century gave the republic three districts known as the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio, situated between the Alps, Milan, and Venice. About the year 1550, some 200 Italian exiles had reached this district, attracted thither by the fact that the inhabitants had originally come from Italy, and had preserved their ancient language and manners. The spirit of liberty also in this region corresponded with the aspirations of the refugees. Many of these latter were men of learning. The name and influence of Zuinglius reached the Gri-

sons, where the number of refugees had continued to increase. In 1524 and 1525 the inhabitants of the valleys of St. Anthony, of Flesch, and of Malantz, adopted the Protestant doctrine and abolished the mass. The new opinions spread widely among both priests and people. Political contests, arising out of the wars of Charles V. and Francis I., aided the efforts of the reformers. During the negotiations that grew out of these troubles, the Bishop of Coire dexterously prevailed on the deputies of the Swiss, who managed affairs on the part of the Grisons republic, to include in the terms a stipulation providing for the maintenance of the ancient religion. The diet of the Grisons being weak and divided, and threatened by powerful enemies, were prevailed on to accept the provision, but with a compromise that the "Gospel and word of God should be preached," and a reservation that the diet "reserved to itself the liberty of altering its measures upon being better informed by disputations, councils, or in any other way." At the next annual diet it was proposed and decided "That it shall be free to all persons of both sexes, and of whatever condition or rank, within the territories of the Grisons confederation, to choose, embrace, and profess either the Roman Catholic or the Evangelical religion; and that no one shall publicly or privately harrass another with reproaches or odious speeches on account of his religion under an arbitrary penalty." To this enactment was added a renewal of a former one,—“That the ministers of religion shall teach nothing to the people but what is contained in the Scriptures of the old and new Testament, and what they can prove by them, and that parish priests shall be enjoined to give themselves assiduously to the study of the Scriptures as the only rule of faith and manners.” This statute was confirmed

by the oath of the members of the diet at Ilantz, June 26, 1526. Many practical reforms were effected at the same time. The new opinions spread rapidly. In the Grey League, and in the Ten Jurisdictions, especial progress was made. At this time not a single book existed in either of the two dialects of the Rhoetian, the Romanish or the Ladin. The first work that appeared was a translation of Comander's German Catechism, by James Tulchet, or Biveroni, printed in 1552. In 1560, Biveroni printed his translation of the New Testament, also in Rhoetian, and this was followed by a version of the Psalms, and a collection of hymns by Ulrich Campel. These names merit eternal record. The number of refugees increased, many of them persons of distinction as well as learning. Bartolomeo Maturo, who had been prior of the Dominican Convent of Cremona, arrived early. He continued to preach until his death in 1547. News of these proceedings reached Rome, and measures were adopted to prevent the spread of the reformation in the Grisons. In the Valteline especially, which bordered on the Milanese, the Protestants were numerous, and had several learned and distinguished Italian teachers. In order to check effectually the spread of evangelical opinions in the Grisons, the extirpation of the Italian colony was resolved on. For this purpose the pope procured the assistance of the neighboring Catholic powers, and especially Philip II., who had recently acquired dominion of Milan. The Valteline had formerly belonged to that duchy. Philip, like the other dukes of Milan, had sworn to observe the cession of the Valteline to the Grisons; but the pretense of preventing the spread of heresy in Milan itself was a sufficient excuse for any violence to recover the lost province. In 1559 the government of Milan erected forts on the border of the Val-

teline. From these hiding places the inquisitors entered the country; and as they could not seize persons, they collected a large number of books which they burned. In 1561 the legate appeared at Coire, supported by the Milanese ambassador. He made a formal demand at the diet, among other things, for the suppression of all books but those in favor of Rome, issuing from the press of Puschiamo. Not content with these measures bands of armed men haunted the roads of the Valteline, and carried off Protestants to the inquisition. Man-stealing became a traffic. The Grey League offered only a feeble resistance to this violence. The massacre of St. Bartholomew provoked severe retaliation on all persons who committed violence in the Grisons. Strong feeling existed on both sides. But at length the terrible massacre of all the Protestants in the Valteline in 1620, and the revolt of all the southern dependencies of the republic, led to the subjugation of the Grisons by Austria and Spain.

METZ, ROME, MONASTERIES

CHARLES V.—DUC DE BOURBON—HUGUENOTS

16TH CENTURY

It may be proper here to make a brief allusion to various collections of books which were scattered and injured through the destructive effects of war. Anything like a complete list would be impossible. Even if it were possible the enumeration would be tedious and disheartening. We have seen that Metz, being in the line of the great traffic along the Rhine, in days when, as has been

said, it was the highways that walked instead of the travelers, very early was the scene of mental and literary activity. Merchants depend for their success on sound information, and their operations and intercourse always diffuse it. But under the head of merchants must not be included board of trade "operators." Their proceedings are the direct contrary of the natural operation of business, and prices with them go up or down inversely to the natural condition of the markets, for gambling and fraudulent purposes. The various sects which had appeared at Metz since the twelfth century, and long before that time, had all introduced books of various kinds. At the opening of the Reformation the literature accumulated in Metz was very considerable. Collections of books were numerous and valuable. The city contained many churches and abbeys; and as usual each church was provided with service books, and theological works were numerous. By her independent spirit, Metz fell under the displeasure of Charles V. and held out stoutly against him.

With all his bigotry Charles was a soldier, and the urgencies of military strife do not hesitate before incidental injuries to property. The city was greatly injured. The Abbey of St. Arnoul's, and those of St. Clement, St. Symphorien, St. Peter, and St. Mary were destroyed, and the libraries, books and manuscripts shared the common fate.

The rapid spread of reformed religion in France in the middle of the sixteenth century arrayed two strong parties in open antagonism; one headed by the pope represented in France by the King and the Duke of Guise; the other led by Admiral Coligny and the Prince of Condé. The Catholics at length grew angry at the apparent friendship of the queen for the Huguenots. The proceedings

of the legate the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Spanish Ambassador inflamed the passions of the multitude, and the aspect of affairs became so menacing that Coligny was obliged to concert measures of precaution. At that period—beginning of 1562—the religious fervor of the French puritans took the same turn as that of their English brethren about the same period and later. Meetings for religious exhortation, for singing, devotional exercises and preaching, were very common all over France. The number of persons who repaired to the Faubourgs in Paris amounted to fifty thousand. The Prince of Condé at this time openly avowed Protestantism; and the Cardinal of Chatillon, Bishop of Beauvais, and James Spifarne, Bishop of Nevers, were publicly married. The catholics of Paris wrote to the Duke of Guise to come and help them. Guise complied and was speedily at the head of an army. March 1st, 1562, the duke arrived at Vassy, a small town in Champagne, sixty leagues east of Paris. At the moment of his arrival the Huguenots were performing divine service, and were unarmed. The duke hearing the singing, expressed his indignation. The hint was taken by his followers. The greater part of these proceeded to the house where the worshipers were assembled, and assailed them with insults and abusive language. The assembly contained women, children and old persons. The younger members naturally resented the insults of the duke's swash-bucklers who had enlisted and marched for the express purpose of extirpating the Protestants. A tumult arose. The strife was bloody, and eighty persons of the congregation were slaughtered then and there. During the tumult the duke received a slight wound from a stone, and this circumstance intensified the ferocity of his followers. They not only slaughtered without distinction, but they

pulled down the pulpit and burned the books. Every person that could not escape was murdered, and the carnival of blood did not wholly cease for three days. This event created intense indignation throughout France, and was the first calamitous scene in the desolating war then inaugurated. Great excesses were committed also by the Guise party at Cahors, Toulouse, Sens, Amiens and Tours. At Sens the bells of the cathedral during three successive days invited the inhabitants to murder the Huguenots. The bodies of the victims floated down the Seine. It is possible that these circumstances prepared the way for the "Noyades" at Nantes and elsewhere on a subsequent and well known occasion. One party called for justice, the other for extermination at the bidding of an alien, and an Italian who persuaded foolish Frenchmen to murder other Frenchmen who had never injured them. The massacre at Vassy lay heavy on the conscience of the Duke of Guise forever afterward. He repeatedly declared that it was accidental. It is probable that he had not premeditated any such outrage before his arrival. After his mortal wound he said to those around him, "*Je vous prie encore que l'inconvenient advenu à ceux de Vassy est advenu contre ma volonté. J'ai été defendeur, non aggresseur.*" Personally that may have been true; but that an unarmed congregation of men, women and children were the aggressors in a commotion with an armed troop under the immediate command of one of the first captains in France is wholly incredible. It is always easy, and in those days was an habitual practice, to irritate the sectaries by insulting jests and wanton provocation to a show of resentment, and then massacre them in retaliation. Such conduct has always been exhibited by mobs toward reformers before the latter grew strong enough to suppress it. In the

presence of such scenes of violence, it is idle and worse than idle, to attribute the burning of monasteries and the destruction of their contents which followed during this war, solely to the "fury of the heretics," as some authors do. Dr. Maitland and others may sympathize exclusively with the woes of the Benedictines. He may lament that "at St. Theudere, near Vienne, says Martine, the chapter showed us with the utmost kindness such fragments of their old monuments as had escaped the fury of the heretics, who in 1562 burnt all their deeds." Again quoting from the *Voyage Litteraire de deux Benedictines*, he may mourn with his authors that "at Tarbe we found little to do, the cathedral and all its monuments having been burnt by the Calvinists, who throughout Bearn and Bigorre have left frightful indications of their fury." "At St. John's Abbey, Thomars, the ravages of the Calvinists have dispersed most of the muniments." "At Grimberg, the library having been burned by the heretics, all the manuscripts were destroyed. There now remain but two Bibles and the ancient synodal statutes of the church of Camberry." At Eisterbach "all the ancient muniments were dispersed in the wars. We found no manuscripts save a Bible and the Dialogues and Homilies of Cæsarius." The Abbey of Dilighen "was ruined by the heretics. It is now restored and has a tolerable library but very few manuscripts, and those unimportant." The library of a monastery near Ferte sous Jouarre suffered similarly. The Abbey of Munster, in Luxembourg, twice suffered the fortunes of war and was wholly destroyed. "We could not, therefore, expect to make any discoveries in this library. In fact, we found there only five or six manuscripts." The monastery of the Chartreuse, near Liege, was also destroyed. Of this place it is said "there were formerly many manuscripts, but the monastery

having been entirely reduced to ashes in the late wars, they were all consumed. There remain but a few volumes of sermons by Jacques de Vitry which escaped the flames."

The abbey of Fleury deserves a more particular notice. This establishment, it is said, dates from the seventh century; and within two hundred years became distinguished as a school of learning. Like other French monasteries it possessed large privileges; and the abbot in rude times was able to enact local regulations that affected the entire district. The absence of temporal lords during the crusades afforded the best of opportunities for this extension of authority on the part of ecclesiastics. A tax expressly for the support of the library of Fleury was levied on the dependencies of the abbey. This duty was imposed by Abbot Macarius, about 1146. Several other French monasteries had similar regulations, as that of St. Peter at Chartres, the Holy Trinity at Vendome, of the same date. But, however well the library may have been furnished, Fleury did not escape from the corruption of morals, relaxed discipline, and religious decay that marked monasticism in Europe generally. It was not only the "worms and moths that preyed upon the books" that troubled Fleury. It was the absence of all provision for the exercise of man's domestic nature that was the "*teredine ac tineia rodente*" of which Abbot Macarius complained. Man is but one-half of humanity, and he cannot continue wholesome, and mentally or physically as nature intended him to be, without the other half. His condition in a monastery or any similar institution is only inchoate at the best, and if left there he must perish as the unfructifying pollen perishes. Woman must feed man's soul or he dies. Hence the worst enemies of "the brethren" were not from their

own order, but from the foolish regulations that segregated them from the complementary half of humanity. The worst enemies of monasteries are those who founded them. The Huguenots, like other reformers, fought for reasonableness, and the law of life, as entailed by the human constitution itself. With the monks the law of life was broken, and as an order they could not sympathize with it. The district around Fleury became a scene of strife without any premeditation. There was strife in many other places where great monasteries did not exist. The abbey suffered. The library was almost totally dispersed. Many of the books were carried off by Huguenots and sold. Some were destroyed; when the abbey fell they partook of the ruin. Some books remained among the debris for nearly a quarter of a century. Some of the volumes from Fleury are now in the town library of Orleans. Others came into the hands of Christina, Queen of Sweden, and some of these are now in the town library of Geneva, others in the Vatican. Many books belonging to the abbey had been intrusted to friends before the abbey suffered at all. These were never returned. Others, again, had been lent to the Benedictines of St. Maur, and were still at St. Germain des Près, when that abbey was destroyed by fire, in 1794. Thus, by private cupidity, carelessness, civil strife, casual fire, the library was depleted. But there is nothing in all this of an intimation of any deliberate war on books or literature on the part of the "heretics," as Dr. Maitland's authors would infer. On the contrary, the proofs are clear that books were not sought for special destruction. Some of the books formerly at Fleury are scattered between Rome, Paris, Orleans, Berne, and Geneva and elsewhere.

The great Abbey of Corvey, in North Germany, was

another institution that ranked high as a seminary. The library was large, and nobles and prelates combined to augment its treasures. In the eleventh century every novice was required to present a book to the house, This abbey also suffered severely during the wars of the Reformation. It was then, in fact, an enemy's fortress, like Fleury and all the others. But many of the books found their way to the library of Wolfenbuttel. The house continued to preserve a library down to the present century, when at last it was secularized. In 1811, King Jerome's government presented the remnant of the library to the University of Marburg. At the latter date the collection was still large. These events afford no instance of a war on books on the part of "heretics."

When Nicholas V. ascended the papal throne, in 1447, the library of the Vatican had almost disappeared. Frequent transfers to and from Rome and Avignon cannot wholly account for the loss of the books. The utter corruption of the papal court, and the venal cupidity of those who had access to the books in an age when general literature was and had long been fiercely discouraged and crucified, will afford a much better explanation of the loss of the books. The new pope, however, was fond of knowledge, and he added about a thousand manuscripts to the existing remnant of the old collection. Calixtus III. added many more, said to have been saved at the sack of Constantinople. But the insupportable onslaught of the duke of Bourbon, and the sack of Rome, in 1527, dispersed these books again almost totally. This dreadful event, among the most calamitous to literature that has happened in modern times, was directly due to the imbecile combination of Pope Clement VII., Francis I., of France, Venice and Milan, styled the Holy League, A. D.; 1526. The king of France,

whose worthlessness both as a prince and as a general brought grievous woes upon Europe, deserted his allies. The procrastination of the duke of Urbino, in supreme command of the confederates, allowed the French and Spaniards to enter Italy almost unopposed. The army of Frundsberg and the duke of Bourbon advanced upon Rome. The Po was passed without opposition. The enemy were supplied with artillery by the duke of Ferrara. The duke of Urbino, the marquis of Saluzzo, and Guido Rangoni watched them like "lacqueys waiting upon their lords." The result of the long abasement of the Italian mind in papal hands, and under papal influences, was woe-fully exhibited in this hour of supreme peril. "The struggle," says Procter, "was in vain against the destiny of Italy, or rather the hour was arrived in which the want of energy and real union in her governments, the extinction of all courage and military spirit in the mass of her people, the vices and cowardice alike of her rulers and subjects, were to fill up the measure of her degradation and calamities." * * "The disgrace of the result must be branded, in truth, on the moral degeneracy into which the nation had already sunk." Procter, *Italy*, 211. The invaders were left destitute of all means of support except plunder; and Germans, Spaniards, and Italians, were alike mutinous for pay. Bourbon was unable, and probably unwilling, to arrest the advance of his host. Clement VII. was the head of the confederacy, and tried to make terms for himself after the sufferings he had inflicted on Italy. It was too late. He had "so utterly lost credit that he dared not ask for loans, and was so feeble that he could not rob. He was in a state of terror from the Colonnese who had recently plundered the Vatican." Bourbon avoided Florence and Siena, and marched straight on Rome. He took the city by assault

on the morning of May 3d, 1527, dying himself in the moment of victory. Let the rest be told in the words of Vettori Sommario, pp. 372-382: "It still remained for the imperial troops to enter the populous and wealthy quarters; and these they had to reach by one of the bridges. They numbered scarcely more than 25,000 men altogether. Rome contained at least 30,000 men of military age, and among them were many trained as soldiers, and a multitude of Romans, vaunting braggarts, in daily quarrels, bearing beards on their breasts. But 500 could not be assembled for the defense of any of the three bridges. * * The soldiers slew as they pleased, ransacked the houses of rich and poor, palaces of nobles, convents of monks and nuns, and churches. Men, women and little children were made prisoners, without regard to age or vows, or any other claim to clemency. The carnage was not great; for men seldom kill those who do not resist; but the plunder was incalculable, in money, jewelry, gold and silver plate, cloth, tapestry, furniture, and property of all kinds. To this the ransoms must be added that reached an amount beyond belief. Let it be considered through how many years the wealth of all christendom had flowed to Rome, and stayed there almost wholly; let it be remembered that cardinals, bishops, prelates, public officers, and rich merchants, Roman and foreign, selling at high prices, letting their houses for heavy rents, no taxes; let anyone call to mind the poor people, the artizans, the prostitutes, and he will conclude that never was a city plundered of which the record has reached us from which so great a treasure could be taken. Although Rome has on other occasions been captured and sacked, yet it never was the Rome of recent times. Besides, the devastation continued so long that what could not be discovered the

first day, sooner or later was perceived. This disaster was an example to the world that men proud, avaricious, envious, murderous, lustful, hypocritical, cannot long protect their country. And it cannot be denied that the people of Rome, and especially the Romans, were branded with all these vices, and many others also still greater."

The degradation to which literature and literary culture had fallen in the ecclesiastical world may be perceived from the case of Pope Adrian VI., successor to Leo X. This "barbarian pontiff" denounced the Laocoon and other statuary in the Belvidere, as the "idols of the ancients," and the frescoes of Raphael as "useless ornaments." "Sunt literæ unius poetæ," "they are the letters of some poet" he said when he read the latin letters of the secretaries. The mighty influence of classical learning had created a wide taste among laymen for philosophy and science; and the wealth of literature that had grown up in academies and societies contrasted even to disgust with the mean ignorance of the head of the church. The death of Adrian VI. was greeted with universal joy, and the gate of his physician was placarded with a bold inscription "Patriæ Liberatori, S. P. Q. R."

The learned societies that had gathered in Rome during the years preceding 1527, may be inferred from the painful contrast presented by the city after the sack by Bourbon. Let the dialogue of Valeriano tell the mournful story. Valeriano had been the favorite of Leo X. and the protonotary of Clement. Fortunately he was in Piacenza during the sack. On his return he searched for society or comrade, but only devastation was before him. "When first I began to inquire," he laments, "for the philosophers, orators, poets and professors of Greek

and Latin literature, whose names were written on my tablets, how great, how horrible a tragedy was presented to me! Of all those learned men whom I had hoped to see how many had perished miserably, carried off by the most cruel of all fates, overwhelmed by unmerited disasters; some dead of plague; some brought to a lingering death by poverty and exile; some slaughtered by hostile sword; others worn down by daily torturings, and others again, and they of all the most unhappy, driven to self murder by agony of soul." The fate of many of these martyrs has been preserved. John Goritz had been taken prisoner, and his ransom consumed all his means, and he was then dying at Verona. Colacci had witnessed the destruction of his own house, with all its costly accumulations of art, and treasures of manuscripts. Angelo Cæsi, beaten on his sick bed by Spanish soldiers, died within a year. Marone, robbed of all his books and manuscripts, and compositions, the result of a life-time of literary labor, died in "the worst inn's worst room." Marco Fæbio Calvi, the friend and preceptor of Raphael breathed his last in a hospital. Julianus Camers flung himself from a window of his house. Baldus, the professor, had witnessed his Commentary on Pliny used to kindle the camp fires, and died of starvation. Casanova fell a victim to the plague. Bombasi was murdered in the streets. Cristoforo Marcello was tortured by the Spaniards. Exposed naked on a tree his nails were daily plucked out in succession by those fiends. He died in agony at Gaeta. Tardolus and Victor endured similar sufferings. Fortunio and Valdis committed suicide. Scholars and learned men were driven from Rome, and wandered as beggars all through Italy, and died of hunger in low hovels, or by the wayside. All lost their manuscripts and books by the hands of soldiers in Rome

or of brigands in the country. The age of the scholarship of "Humanism" was obliterated in Rome in blood and fire, in plague and torture, in suicide and starvation. The only redeeming feature of Rome, which had become "the sink of all things shameful and abominable" was obliterated. The age of the Inquisitors and the Jesuits succeeded.

One of the most interesting persons whom we meet in this century is the learned Olympia Morata, daughter of Fulvio Peregrino Morata, a native of Mantua, and a professor in Ferrara in 1539. Under the encouragement of princess Renée, daughter of Louis XII. of France, the reformed religion had many supporters in Ferrara. These sentiments were also much encouraged by Hercules II., Duke of Ferrara, husband of the princess Renée. Fulvio Morata adopted the reformed principles, and he educated his accomplished daughter in the same sentiments. Olympia was selected as companion of Anne, eldest daughter of the duchesse Renée. But through the calumnies of one Jerome Bolsec, very injurious stories were circulated concerning Olympia, which had their origin in the bigoted hatred of Bolsec to all persons of the reformed faith. The mind of the duchess was poisoned, and Olympia retired from the court. Shortly afterward she married Andrew Grunthler, a young physician, and settled with him at Schweinfurt. The young practitioner was well born, handsome, and a man of talent, and the marriage was exceedingly happy. At her new home in Franconia, Olympia resumed her studies and surrounded herself with books. Here the prospect of increasing her literary fame was promising when war interrupted the gentle student's repose. Albert of Brandenburg was besieged in Schweinfurt by the German princes. During the siege Olympia was obliged to inhabit a cellar. The

contest was tedious, and Olympia escaped with difficulty and in disguise on the capture of the town. Her large library was entirely destroyed. Many friends subsequently sent her presents of books; but the shock of the siege and its terrors, added to previous sorrows, wounded to death the delicate life of Olympia, and she died at the early age of twenty-nine, October 26th, 1555. Her writings consist of letters, dialogues, in Latin and Italian, Greek poems in heroic and sapphic verse, all of them containing proofs of a lofty and cultivated mind. Her works were published in 1553, and the second edition was dedicated to that noble patroness of learning and learned and worthy persons, Queen Elizabeth of England.

The published narratives of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, September, 1572, are silent concerning the destruction of books that followed or accompanied that dreadful event. The treatise of the Jesuit Bonani on the "Coins of the Pontiffs" contains a detailed statement of the entire massacre in illustration of the well known medal struck at Rome to commemorate it. The die is still used, and copies of the medal are very popular in the catholic world. Bonani says, "that slaughter was commenced on the ninth kalend of September, of the year 1572, at Paris, by the ringing of the great bell of the palace (as a signal) that the slaughter should be perpetrated. And truly during three continual days in the nights, sixty thousand men perpetrated a horrible butchery in the whole city against their enemies, the heretics, who were again devising new schemes. In a word, six hundred houses were either pulled down or burned, and four thousand men slain. But it did not end with the massacre only of the Parisian. It raged through a great many other cities. And thus through similar slaughter in the provinces twenty-five thousand men

were taken off." The medal with the motto "Ugonotorum Strages" is fully described. Bonani adds: "But Gregory (XIII.) taught that that slaughter was not effected without the assistance of God, and the divine counsel, in a medal which was struck, and in which an angel armed with a sword and a cross is rushing against the rebels." The narrow escape of Sir Phillip Sydney from this massacre is usually known. If such fury raged against persons and houses all through France, it is extremely probable, even to certainty, that the literature of the Huguenots, which had always been a special object of hatred, would not be spared. Details on this subject would be of great interest.

ITALY

THE ACADEMIES—14TH AND 15TH CENTURY

Petrarch may justly be credited with the honor of being the founder of modern Italian libraries. He was the first to entertain the idea of a chronological collection of imperial medals as a basis for the study of history. Medals are books in stamped metal. They preserve most valuable memorials, but too often in a form that leads to obscurity from the arbitrary fancies in which ideas are presented. Plain words are preferable to emblematic figures. They will be read a thousand years hence. Petrarch presented some costly specimens of medals to the Emperor Charles IV. at Mantua; but the gift so dear to the giver was not appreciated. "Behold!" said the poet, "the great men whose place you occupy, and who ought to be your models."

Geography also received from Petrarch very close attention. To his care was due the most complete and

correct map of Italy prepared in that age. For the elevation of his countrymen in polite arts, not the sort of "hautes etudes" that lead to St. Bartholomew massacres, but to the cultivation of sound and useful knowledge, and true and gentle virtue and charity, Petrarch made great exertions for the formation of a library. This treasure was extensive. The poet's ardor for learning was enhanced rather than the contrary by his father's harsh act in committing his youthful library to the flames. He was able to rescue Virgil and Cicero half burned. His gift to Venice in 1352 of all his books, as the foundation of a public library in that city, was not as fully appreciated as it ought to have been. He stipulated that the books should be neither separated nor sold. But this treasure was greatly neglected. The age was ecclesiastical, not literary; and for three hundred years the gift of Petrarch was given over to the devouring moth and worm. In 1635 the unfortunate manuscripts were discovered by Tomasini, in a dusty chamber near the bronze horses. When found, the MSS. had partly become petrified; others crumbled into powder. "This word library," observes Guingené, "which now only means that some care has been exercised, some researches made, and often only a commission given to a bookseller, in that age had a very different signification. Good manuscripts were extremely scarce, especially of the ancient Greek and Latin authors; of whom only a very small number had been discovered. One may say that Petrarch established a sort of passion for the search for them. He sought them himself and stimulated the pursuit in others." With these feelings the poet formed a second library; and his eagerness extended to Tuscany, England, France, Spain, Avignon, Florence. The works of Livy, Cicero, Quintilian, Plato, Virgil, and many others were recovered.

Cicero's treatise "De Gloria" was lent to his preceptor Convenuoli, who never returned it. Many other borrowers have acted similarly both before and since. After Petrarch's death his library was sold and dispersed. Some books found their way to Pavia. When the French took possession of that city in 1499 they carried off numbers of manuscripts to Paris. Many of these were annotated by Petrarch's own hand. His copy of Virgil, however, was still at Pavia; at the commencement of the sixteenth century in the library at Milan, and was there on the French conquest in 1796, and was seized by their commissioners.

The taste for literature was strong and extensive in Italy during all the disasters of papal corruption, civil commotion, foreign conquest, and the national decay brought about by all these causes. In every city there were bright intellects who cultivated the "literæ humaniores" although in obscurity and often in want. Florence, Rome, Naples, Parma, Genoa, and other cities contained zealous inquirers who encouraged each other in the love of learning. These excellent persons formed themselves into societies under different names. The Lincei at Rome, the Ardenti at Naples, the Insensati at Parma, and the Addormentati at Genoa, all kept alive the love of knowledge. In other towns there were the Confused, the Unstable, the Nocturnal, the Thunderers, the Smoky, and many more. The greater number, although sustained for a time by wealthy patrons of learning, were short-lived. The general community was too ignorant and superstitious to absorb the ideas or profit by the lucubrations of these societies. The knowledge of the Lives of the Saints was more encouraged by the church.

During this period the fortunes of scholarship varied with the individual character of each pope. Calixtus

III. differed "*toto cælo*" from his predecessor, Nicolas V. When he entered the Vatican library and saw the Greek and Latin books in red and silver bindings he exclaimed, "*vedi in che egli ha consumato la robba della chiesa di Dio.*" "See in what he has wasted the treasure of the church of God." He gave away several hundred volumes to a cardinal whose servants sold them as rubbish. When Æneas Sylvius became Pius II. his character became as completely changed as his name; and here it may be remarked that a pope who is naturally harsh in character assumes always the name of Pius; the Leos on the other hand are mild men. Learning in Italy owed nothing to Pius II. Paul II. owed his tonsure and his dignities to the accession of his uncle Eugenius IV. On that occasion he disposed of his merchandise and became a priest. He was a handsome man, extremely luxurious, and addicted to all sensual lusts. "*Ex concubina domum replevit*" says Attilius Alexius of this pope, which may be rendered "He made his house a harem." He was an Italian despot with some sacerdotal accompaniments. Learning had to progress as it best could. The Academy of Roman Scholars founded by Julius Pomponius Lætus discussed philosophical questions. These Platonists became objects of papal suspicion. The chief members of the academy were seized, imprisoned, tortured, and killed on the rack. "You would have taken the castle of St. Angelo for Phalaris' bull, the hollow vaults did so resound with the cries of innocent young men." Here was no handing over to the civil power at all; unless the pope consigned his victims with his right hand as pope, to his left hand as temporal sovereign, and in fact he did so. Nothing was proved against the prisoners, but they were shut up in dungeons lest people should say they were arrested

without cause. Platina, the historian, was among the victims. While he was being tortured on the rack the inquisitors Vianesé and Sanga held a cheerful discussion concerning a diamond ring which one accused the other of receiving from "his girl." One of the most important of these societies was the "Academia Secretorum Naturæ," established at Naples in 1560, for the cultivation of physical science, by Baptista Porta. The researches of the members must have been earnest and progressive, for they were accused of practising "black arts." The hostility of the church was set in activity against this academia, and it was rudely suppressed by Paul III.

The most enduring and influential of these societies was the Academia della Crusca (or of bran), and it seems to have been directed chiefly to the purification of the national tongue which had become exceedingly corrupt from the admixture of foreign elements. In Naples only a patois was spoken which extended even to the court for long afterwards. The tyrannically repressive spirit of the papal, Austrian and French influence combined, long crushed the literary efforts of Italian youth, and left the country in the extremity of ignorance, and then reproached the people with the very ignorance which it had created. It is only our own generation that has witnessed the emancipation of the Italian mind from the monstrous thralldom of centuries. During this dreary period—the fifteenth century—many names of able and eminent scholars became conspicuous in Italy—Marsilio, Poliziano, Pico, Landino, Alberti, Buonarotti, Da Vinci, and many more. The new culture promoted at Florence and elsewhere helped to quench the thirst for knowledge then keenly felt by Italy's reviving literary appetite. In Lorenzo's pleasant villas assembled a brilliant circle

where all that wit and learning could present of captivating and elevating in grave or gay discourse flowed free and sparkling—a stream never to be dried up in Italy. But even in the soundest minds there still mingled a confused jumble of cabalistic and astrological perversions of science with the true knowledge of real principles. Powerful intellects were attracted partly, it must be admitted, through dearth of better material, into the maze of Asiatic dreams, Hebrew myths, scientific discoveries, and Christian 'doctrine mingled in mediæval cabalistic lore. Magic was seriously studied and trusted. Horoscopes and planetary influences still held sway. Universities founded chairs of astrology, and popes consulted the stars on all occasions of importance. Soothsayers were the viziers of despots, and oracle mongers ruled the counsels of kings. Generals were attended by inspectors of omens as well as of artillery. Republics paid liberally for the oracles of star gazers, and every undertaking of private life was performed under a spell or an incantation. Ruggieri, the astrologer, governed the counsels of three kings by countenance of Catherine de Medici; and Paul III.'s consistories derived their inspiration from the conjunctions of stars. The debasing effect of mediæval superstition, partly as taught by the church, and partly as of necessity a rank growth in the absence of wholesome knowledge, resulting from the frightful destruction of books, during three centuries recently, and three more centuries in earlier ages, was painfully exhibited in the barbarous mixture of Christian dogma, and atheistic impiety during this struggling era. Hybrid mysticism, and magical delusions struggled hard for the mastery. One of the glories of classical literature is associated with the powerful effect it produced in dispelling cabalistic darkness by

healthy philosophical discussion, and profound appeals to nature, both within us and without,—to nature in its real operating laws as distinguished from blind appeals to a terrorized imagination. The philosophizing spirit gradually advanced to the discovery of true philosophy. But during the prevalence of the cabalistic delusions the discussions of the academies were often puerile. The broad materials for the support of a strong philosophical public opinion did not exist. Pedantry and literary affectation trifled with silly subjects, and philosophy descended almost to literary dotage. As the century advanced, and even late in the following century, the numerous academies were still immersed in solemn mockeries which threatened to reduce the mind of the nation to intellectual hebetude. So long, however, as they did not concern themselves with serious lucubrations they were permitted to amuse themselves undisturbed. But the least symptom of independent investigation in practical affairs or civil policies brought the hand of oppression down in force. The Platonic Academy of Florence continued to meet and discuss until the alleged conspiracy against Giulio de Medici caused its instant suppression. Had John Milton looked beneath the surface critically, he would have hesitated to pronounce his eulogies on “the learned and affable meeting of frequent academies and the procurement of wise and artful recitations, sweetened with eloquent and graceful incitements to the love and practice of justice, temperance, fortitude.” But good was certainly accomplished in those directions.

The dispersion of the printers of Mayence, in 1462, by Adolph of Nassau, created much additional literary effort in Italy. From the press of Sweynheim and Pannartz, first in Subiaco, and subsequently in Rome,

POLAND

MISSIONARIES—JESUITS—FROM 9TH TO 18TH CENTURY

The great Slavonian race, language and literature, occupied the plains of Poland, as well as many other regions lying between the Vistula and the Baltic, before those countries became known to Rome or Constantinople. The same Pelasgic writing which was used by the Goths of Sweden was also employed in Poland. Some ancient chronicles of Bohemia, mentioned by Palacky (*Geschichte von Böhmen* I. 182), speak of legislative tables in the seventh century; and the ancient Slavonian for a wizard *Czarnokniznick*, signifies one occupied with black books. Martinus Gallus mentions Polish chronicles existing previous to the introduction of the Roman religion, which were destroyed by the missionaries. According to some obscure traditions, historically repeated, there was some christianity in Bohemia, Moravia and Poland before the arrival of Cyrill and Methodius. That individual Slavonians had traveled and traded in Bulgaria and even in Constantinople before the ninth century may be accepted as necessarily true. That members of the Christian church were found in Slavonian countries in very early centuries is extremely probable. That Greeks traveled there, and that by traders and settlers a preparation was gradually made, may also be accepted as according to the natural course of events. The alphabet, improved by Cyrill and Methodius, is the Greek alphabet, with some alterations to represent sounds not existing in Greek. The Dalmatian Slavo-

nians have a separate alphabet called the Glagolite, of unknown origin. Many Slavonian idols have been found with Runic inscriptions, and it is historically presumable that Runes constituted the literary medium of all the ancient Slavonians. Cyril and Methodius were selected by the Emperor Michael III. for the mission to Moravia and the neighboring countries because they were well versed in the native language. But they introduced Greek literature, Greek doctrines and formularies, and Greek generosity and breadth of thought. Their instruction and their formularies were expressed in the native tongue, because those good men went to teach and elevate the people morally and mentally, and not to build up a spiritual empire for any ambitious and covetous hierarchy. The liturgy of the first Slavonian christians was drawn up in the language of the people to which they have been always much attached. They were all the more determined to maintain it because the efforts of the Germans had been always directed toward the extirpation of the native language, in order that the imperial authority might be more firmly fixed through the medium of the German tongue—a very good tongue no doubt, but not the only one that has rights in Europe or elsewhere. Complaints were early made at Rome concerning the use of the Slavonian language in the liturgy; but the reply of pope John VIII., given at length elsewhere, embodies principles of plain sense as well as of justice. The Slavonian was permitted indeed, but steps were taken to root it out gradually; and also the doctrinal differences that existed in the old Greek forms. (See the section on Sassawa.) The native service lingered in Bohemia until 1094, when the books were finally destroyed; and in Poland until 1506, in the church of the Holy Cross, near Cracow.

Poland also partook of the zeal of the Greek mission-

aries; but their arrival in those countries unfortunately coincided with the separation of the Greek and Latin churches. The weakness of the former gave Rome an ascendancy, and even Methodius became a bishop under the Roman pope. But the first lessons produced a lasting effect. The first Christianity of Poland was Greek. The communion was celebrated in both kinds, the influences and sympathies were Greek. But the separation of the two great sections embittered the relations between them, and Rome vindictively struggled to extirpate all Greek associations from the Slavonian churches. All the priests of Rome labored to effect this purpose. The princes of Poland and Bohemia were subjected to constant insolence and sedition by turbulent ecclesiastics. The power of Germany was added; and the combination of force and superstition gradually rooted out the native language from the religious services. With the disappearance of the language the subjection of the nations themselves to the Roman curia kept pace, until at last Rome dominated in everything. At the Synod of Salona, in 1060, Methodius was pronounced a heretic, and the Slavonian alphabet denounced as a diabolical invention, although Pope John had praised it as reflecting great credit on its inventors. Queen Hedvige, of Anjou,—1399,—was an ardent promoter of the native literature of Poland, and founded the college of St. Cross, called “*Collegium fratrum Slavonum*.” Divine service was here performed in the vernacular tongue, as is evident from the liturgical books still existing. This college was an adoption of the name, and a kind of renovation of the old Moravian church at Kleparz, in the environs of Cracow, founded in 949, where it was well known that the national language was employed. Queen Hedvige selected a site and a title still enjoying popular veneration.

tion from old national memories. The Polish historiographer, Siarczyński, asserts that up to the fourteenth century the worship in the national language was very common in Poland; and Juszynski even declares that the reformers of the sixteenth century adopted for the use of their people many canticles of the ancient national Polish churches. The reformers always restored the old national life and liberties that had been destroyed by Rome between the tenth and sixteenth centuries.

The maintenance of the national literature was strongly asserted as a stronghold against the encroachments of Rome through the medium partly of Latin, and partly of the doctrines which the Latin language was made to embody. Christianity itself was furiously resisted by Saxons, Poles, Swedes, and other races, because it was associated with national servitude. It was then, and it is still true, that the man who goes "over to Rome" has imbibed a spirit alien to the intellectual, moral, and political independence of his own country. Previous to the Reformation, that principle was true; but it is still more true now, inasmuch as the modern spirit of Rome has been concentrated in opposition to enfranchisement, national and individual, which the Reformation enthroned and dignified. During the crusades, and subsequently, the chief efforts of the Roman clergy in Poland were directed to the acquisition of territorial power and wealth, the extension of their privileges, the elevation of papal authority, and the transfer of all the judicial power of the country to a Roman tribunal. Education was grossly neglected; literature greatly declined. Stagnation of intellect and general poverty of thought were the inevitable result. A few chronicles were produced, but they have been largely corrupted in modern times. The chief difficulty of Polish princes consisted in efforts to

control the exacting spirit of the clergy on the subject of tithes and appointments. The nobility complained that all the rights of the nation were engrossed by foreigners who labored for alien interests. The common people hated the clergy for their subserviency to the same influences, and readily lent their ear to the various preachers and evangelists who traversed the country, some from France, others from Moravia, Bohemia, and even from Italy. Every country has had its Thomas A. Beckett, and Poland had hers in Stanislaw Szczspanowski, who met his death at the hands of Boleslav the Dauntless, in 1078, during the contest excited by the quarrels between the temporal and spiritual power. During this dreary and melancholy period the national literature was kept alive solely by the attachment of the people, and by a new influence which began to be felt in the twelfth century, that most interesting epoch when the springs of all modern life were laid and set to operate.

Under the old Greek influence the marriage of the Polish clergy was universal. It was not only 'permitted but enjoined. In 1120 all the clergy of the diocese of Breslau were married. Sarnicki positively states that in the twelfth century all the Polish clergy were married. Hist. V.I.12. Dlugosz, a catholic writer, admits the fact of the marriage of the Polish clergy generally at that period. There are indications that up to that time marriage was a civil rite and independent of the church. The efforts of Rome through the Cardinal Peter of Capua in the synods of Cracow and Lubusz failed to produce a change. This question together with the dispute about investitures produced fierce animosities and dissensions. Literature was totally neglected during these contentions. Public education grievously declined. The history of the time is filled with "Contempt of spiritual jurisdic-

tion," "Rights of Roman see," "Popes nominate bishops," "Ecclesiastical immunities," etc., etc., to a wearisome iteration. The resistance to Rome begun under national feelings was gradually more and more sustained by the principles professed by numbers of persons who took refuge in Poland from persecution in France and Italy. As early as 1176 the Waldenses were found in Bohemia, Moravia and Poland. De Thou and Perrin declare that Peter Valdo himself settled in Bohemia. He was probably enticed thither by the congeniality to his principles already long existing there. He went to find sympathizing souls among the remnant of Greek christianity in Bohemia and Poland, and he found it, and extended its influence far and wide. "Valdus civitates vandalicas diu perambulans postremo in Bohemia pedem fixit." Thuanus. *Hist. des Vaud.* Perrin 223. Many of the persecuted fraticelli also found their way thither, and a great number,—many thousands of the Albigeois fled to southern Moravia and Dalmatia, and even to Silesia. These persons were extremely valuable to those countries after the terrible irruptions of the Tartars in 1241; and large districts owed their regeneration wholly to the intelligence and industry of these refugees. About 1210 A.D., the Waldenses had churches in Slavonia, Sarmatia and Livonia. They inculcated the free use of the Scriptures in the vernacular and were always not only supplied with copies, but industrious in the distribution of them; worship was in the native language, and this fact alone sustained a national literature. The communion was always in two kinds among the Waldensians and kindred churches. Their clergy or Barbas were married men. These principles were extremely congenial to the feelings and minds of the Bohemians, Moravians, Poles, Silesians and Dalmatians, who were all during the same period

exasperated by the open violence and secret intrigues of Roman agents and allies for the annihilation of all native thought and independence. In 1341 John Pirnensis openly denounced Rome as the Antichrist, and all Breslau seems to have adopted his opinions. The Inquisition at Cracow commissioned the inquisitor—John of Swidnica to proceed against Pirnensis, but the inquisitor was slain in a popular tumult. After the death of Pirnensis this reformer's body was dug up by order from Rome, burnt, and the ashes scattered to the winds.

The followers of Pirnensis became very numerous and added largely to the general spirit in favor of a native literature. The preaching of these doctrines, and the communion in two kinds, were prohibited in 1350. The efforts of John Milicz in 1374, and Mathias de Janova in 1394, produced corresponding results in Poland, especially as the latter was confessor of the Emperor Charles IV., and performed divine service in the imperial chapel according to the national forms. Any other would have been a badge of servitude. Charles himself was partial to the native language of Bohemia, and recommended it in his "Golden Bull." This circumstance added strength to the demands of the Polish nationalists. The pope denounced Milicz and de Janova, and they found refuge in Poland, where they preached and gained many adherents. Pope Gregory XI. ordered the archbishop of Gniezno to proceed against Milicz, but the thunder was only a sound. The opinions of Wicliffe were at once accepted in Poland and Bohemia because they expressed the sentiments of the people. Jerome of Prague is believed to have spent some time at Oxford. Steady intercourse had long been maintained between Oxford and Bohemia, and it was common for students to pass from the university of Prague to her English sister. The

marriage of Richard II. to Anne of Bohemia favored this intercourse between the two countries. Two Englishmen, called James and Conrad, publicly preached against Rome at Prague in 1404. By the works of Wicliffe reformed sentiments acquired strength and distinct expression in Bohemia and Poland. Hus translated these writings and they became the foundation of a mighty movement. Polish youths resorted in great numbers to Prague, the languages were cognate. A college for Polish youth was established by Queen Hedvige. The cause of Hus was sustained by the Polish students. Jerome of Prague passed some time in Poland, and had helped to organize the university of Cracow in 1410; and all these circumstances identified Poland and Bohemia in the reform movement. The opinions of Hus spread rapidly even among the clergy; but the synod of Lenczyca in 1423 adopted severe decrees against them. Directors of schools were forbidden to receive teachers who came from Bohemia. All books used by parish priests were to be carefully examined. The prevalence of the doctrines of Hus in Poland is proved by the efforts made to discover books, and the great number of controversial catholic writings that then appeared. In 1424 heresy was declared high treason. Poland was disgraced by one auto da fe. In 1439 Andreas Brinski, bishop of Posnania, at the head of nine hundred horsemen, attacked the town of Sbonszyn and forced the people to surrender to him five Hussite preachers, whom he publicly burnt. The same bishop who thus displayed his furious zeal against preachers was extremely lenient to the vices of his own clergy. Dlugosz, a catholic, says of him that "he was not strict or severe against the immoral clergy of his church, and his diocese, tolerating the scandalous conduct and vices of many of them." About this period Andreas Galka Dobszynski

wrote a very earnest hymn in praise of Wicliffe. For this he was obliged to flee. He went to Oppeln in Silesia where Boleslav V. protected him. The illustrious Polish primate Fiol, who printed the first book in the Slavonian Cyrillic letter in 1491, was compelled to quit Cracow for some time on account of his Hussite opinions. Dobszynski's hymn is given at length by Krasinski.

The security of Poland from the domination of the Teutonic knights was effected at the battle of Grünwald, July 22d, 1410; and a circumstance of interest connected with that victory is the distinction gained on that memorable day by John of Trocznow, afterwards known as John Ziska, from the loss of one eye, the illustrious leader of the Hussites. This hero acquired his military education in the Polish service. His courage and trenchantly vigorous character were Bohemian. His favorite weapon was an iron mace; he usually wore the Polish costume, and trimmed his moustache in the Polish fashion. Poland was then more advanced than Bohemia in dress and polish. Ziska had long served with the Poles and Lithuanians. But Grünwald was not his only title to reknown. Under the name of John Le Lech, or John the Polander, Ziska rendered most gallant service in the ranks of the English knights at Azincourt. His name as above appears still in the army-roll of the English. The brief period between 1404 and 1424 added largely to the literature of Poland. Hussite books were purchased in considerable numbers, and published, many of them splendidly bound and illuminated. A custom seems to have prevailed of publishing a book at the joint expense of a community or congregation, and of illustrating it with the coats of arms and insignia of the contributors. A few specimens of these books still survive. Catholic books also were published in reply to the argu-

ments of the Reformers, and the first quarter of the fifteenth century saw more books published in Poland than had appeared in the previous eight centuries of her history. As usual the reform had come from the outside.

The cause of intellectual independence in Poland was much favored by the acquisition of the principality of Halich, in 1340. This rich district contained some millions of subjects professing Greek tenets, and who had no tincture of Roman feeling. Although an attempt was made in 1413 to deprive these persons of all participation in public offices and dignities as being heretics, yet the attempt finally failed, and equal rights were established in 1443. The events which led up to the Reformation and its times, in Poland, were at once the cause and the result of much intellectual activity. Books were published and libraries collected. Discussion and controversy sharpened men's wit, and investigation on one subject led to discovery on others. The Catholic party directed all their efforts to the suppression of so-called heresy, and the Reformers struggled to secure political arrangements that would insure their own freedom of worship and personal security. This struggle continued with alternating success but generally to the advantage of the Reformers for more than a century. The impetus given by Luther swept circles of intellectual activity over Poland, and literature chiefly, although not exclusively controversial and religious, occupied all minds. Luther's principles were anticipated in Poland; and in 1504 two important works were published: one, "*De Vero Cultu Dei*," and the other, "*De Matrimonio Sacerdotum*." The new spirit spread rapidly, and in 1525, the town of Dantzic closed the monastic establishments, abolished the catholic worship, converted the convents into schools, and prohibited monks from private preach-

ing. The movement although violently checked for a time, continued, and spread throughout Prussia. Synods thundered, and decrees were fulminated, but all to no purpose. At length, Albert of Brandenburg, nephew of King Sigismund, and grand master of the Teutonic knights, abandoned his habit and married. This change was followed in all the possessions of the order. The secularization of this vast property was sanctioned by the King, in 1525, and is the first instance of the official recognition of Lutheranism, as an established religion. Three very eminent writers, Orzechowski, Moderzewski, and the Italian Stancari, carried on the polemical discussion in the highest realms of controversy, and, although the first named reconciled himself with Rome, yet his severe denunciations were impressive and effectual long after their author had returned to Roman obedience. So desperate grew the Catholic advocacy that cardinal Hosius declared it would be better to abandon the country to the Russians than to Polish heretics. The Polish senate, at that period, was almost exclusively Lutheran, and Rome despaired of retaining Poland. One priest said mass at court, and it was said of him, "*Solet aula Deum sic colere ne diabolum offendat.*" "The court worships God in such fashion as not to offend the devil." The most remarkable and distinguished Polish controversialist and reformer of the sixteenth century was John Laski, known also as John a Lasco. He was of the noble family of Laski, and was himself presented to the bishopric of Vesprin. This talented and earnest man had received the highest education. He traveled widely, became acquainted with the great Erasmus, whose library he purchased, leaving the use of it to the sage of Rotterdam for his life. Some of the books were afterwards presented to the library of Emden, in Friesland. In

1543, he became superintendent of all the churches in Friesland. Here his unwearied efforts during six years completely established the reformed worship in all the churches. He corresponded with all the German reformers and was received with high distinction by Cranmer and other dignitaries in England. He resided six months at Lambeth and created a most favorable impression. Subsequently he visited the Hanseatic cities. He became superintendent of the foreign congregations of London, and promoted schools and learning among them. The union of the protestant churches was diligently sought by Laski, in Germany and elsewhere. In 1556, he returned to Poland and struggled hard for the union of all the reformed churches, and laid the foundation for the union of the different confessions. He actively assisted in the translation of the Bible of Brzesc, and published many books, most of which are lost. He died in 1560. After his death the efforts of the Jesuits carefully extirpated all the records of Protestant history in Poland, and the memorials of Laski's biography have suffered severely. His descendants returned to the Catholic church and have zealously labored to destroy all the literary labors of their most eminent ancestor. Many of the most learned treatises of the day in scientific discovery were dedicated with expressions of the highest veneration to Laski, especially by the Polish physician, Struthius, the first modern who renewed the theory of pulsation.

As the reformatory spirit spread and manifested itself in Poland the repressive and destructive spirit of Rome also became more conspicuous. There were not many instances of actual burnings of supposed heretics, but frequent attempts were made by the ecclesiastics to destroy their critics with imprisonment and fire. These

attempts failed generally because the Polish laws and constitution did not permit massacres of that description. Many persons were indeed apprehended, but the rigorous interposition of patriots set them at liberty again. With the exception of some isolated cases where victims were hurried to their death in the darkness of some convent, and hidden in secrecy the efforts of the Roman priests to persecute and destroy were vain. Martyrdom indeed very closely approached many for their having married and similar enormities. The rector of Kurow, Nicholas, was seized, imprisoned, and murdered, and his corpse cast out naked. John and Christopher Lasocki, James Astrorog and Martin Krowicki also were seized, but escaped narrowly. That books were destroyed with their owners as in Bohemia, we may infer from the lines written by this Krowicki who was persecuted for his marriage; "If the dungeons of Cracow could speak, if the tortures of Lipowice dared to talk, everybody would know how people were starved, beaten, and tormented in a pagan manner. Ye shall have to answer before God for the death of the priest Michel; but although you will burn all his books, you shall never destroy the divine truth, which proves that ye are scribes, pharisees, and condemned people." Who this poor priest was is not known, or how his martyrdom was effected; but if the priests' own doctrines come true, if the sea shall give up its dead, then the great army of the slain shall rise in judgment on their murderers. These attempts were made all over Poland. That this destructive viciousness was directly instigated by the pope himself, both against persons and books, is clear from the letter addressed by Paul the fourth to King Sigismund Augustus in 1356;—"If I am to credit the reports that reach me, I must feel the most profound grief, and even doubt of your and

your realm's salvation. You favor heretics, you assist at their sermons, you listen to their conversations, and you admit them to your company and your table, you receive letters from and you write to them. You suffer their works sanctioned with your name to be read and circulated. You do not forbid the heretical assemblies, conventicles, and preachings. Are you not yourself therefore a supporter of rebels and antagonists of the Catholic church, because instead of opposing you assist them? Can there be a greater evidence of your attachment to the heretics, when contrary to your oath and the laws of your country you grant the chief dignities in the state to unbelievers. You give life to, you nourish and spread heresy by the favor you show to heretics. You have nominated the bishop of Chelm to the see of Cujava, without waiting for confirmation from the apostolic see, although he is imbued with the most detestable errors. The palatine of Wilna, a heretic, the protector and leader of heresy, is promoted by you to the chief dignities of the country. He is Chancellor of Lithuania, palatine of Wilna, the very intimate friend of the king, in public and private, and may be regarded as associate governor of the kingdom, and second ruler. You have abolished the authority of the church, and you have permitted everyone to have such preachers and such worship as he may choose, by a law of the Diet. John Laski and Vergerius have arrived by orders from you in this country. You have authorized the inhabitants of Elbing and Dantzic to abolish the Roman catholic religion. If my admonition against such offenses and scandals be despised, I shall be compelled to make use of other and more potent measures. You should change your course altogether; give no credence to those who desire you and your kingdom to revolt against the church; and

against true religion. Execute the laws of your most pious ancestors. Abolish all the innovations that have been introduced into your country. Restore to the church its suspended authority. Take from the heretics the churches which they have usurped. Expel the teachers who infect the country and are not punished. You need not wait for a general council, when you possess ready and ample means to destroy heresy. However, if our present admonition remain without effect we shall be compelled to employ those weapons which the apostolic see never employs in vain against stubborn rebels against its authority. God is our witness that we have not neglected any means; but since our letters, embassies, admonitions, and entreaties have been fruitless, we shall adopt the greatest severity."

These sentiments were directly repeated and emphasized by the synod of Lowicz in the month of September of the same year. They complain of the "many errors" committed by "the apostolical see," and by all the local clergy showing too much leniency, in receiving heretics into their houses. "They have never employed any real severity" they say, "and one of them has publicly said in the assembly of the nobles, 'Let people believe what they like, provided my rents are paid.'" "*Credat quisque ut velit modo reditus mei integri sint.*" "We must not conceal our own faults" they add; "The regular and secular clergy are infected with the utmost profligacy of morals. They are addicted to luxury, avarice, debauchery, idleness, carelessness; and what is worse the priests have no knowledge of the law of God." "Religious innovation is much increased by the favor of the king who grants the dignities of the state equally to heretics and Christians. He permits foreign academies which are known hot beds of heresy to be frequented by Polish

students. He permits also every kind of book to be printed." Under the influence of the spirit here inculcated catholics conceived a violent hatred of books and literature, except a very few connected with their own form of worship. The immediate descendants of the illustrious prince Radziwill, Nicholas IV. of that name, who had dedicated the first protestant Bible to Sigismund Augustus, a book published at his expense at Brest in Lithuania in 1563, and had been a most enlightened and eminent Polish patriot, were induced to forsake their noble father's example. Four of his sons turned catholics. One of them, Nicholas, became a devotee, traveled as a pilgrim in the holy land, and having purchased all the copies he could procure of the Bible published by his father, he had them all publicly burned in the market place at Wilna. In 1578 another synod was convened at Piotrkow. This assembly still further emphasized the pope's instructions by prohibiting books having any tendency toward heresy from being read in the schools, and recommending ancient pagan works in their place. It also passed a resolution requiring the king to issue an ordinance prohibiting booksellers from circulating heretical books. Cardinal Hosius struggled persistently to persuade the king to banish all ministers, and also the Bohemian brethren. He maintained that it was necessary to persecute and eradicate all heretics. The only person, however, who suffered seriously was the illustrious Italian Ocheno, who was expelled from Poland.

During these controversies the prospects of a free literature in Poland continually grew brighter. In 1564 Cardinal Hosius invited the Jesuits, and Lainez sent a few members of the order. They were located at Brainsberg; but they did not make much progress during the

lifetime of Sigismund Augustus. This excellent prince died July 7, 1572, at Knyszyn, a little town on the frontier of Lithuania. From this time commenced a new era in the history of literature and its persecutions in Poland.

In the reign of Casimir IV., A. D. 1444-1492, the study of Latin had been introduced, but towards the close of this period the Polish language became again pre-eminent.

In 1474 the first printing press was set up at Cracow, and during the succeeding century, under the wise freedom of literature that prevailed, great progress was made by students in philosophical knowledge, and scientific discovery. Kromer, the Livy of Poland, became distinguished, and Janicki celebrated for his Latin poems. Science was adorned by the name of Gregory of Sanok, the Bacon of Poland. Born about 1400, he held a professorship at Cracow, and was noted for fearless intellectual independence. He hated and abjured the scholastic jargon, ridiculed astrology, and being a great admirer of elegant learning introduced the study of Virgil. The century was also distinguished by the fame of Copernicus. This astronomer pursued his studies for sometime under the tuition of Albert Brudzewski at Cracow. Astronomical calculations were then regularly published in the university, and were wholly free from astrological absurdity. Copernicus, like Newton, was associated with the mint of his own country, and wrote a treatise on Polish money which is still extant. Adam Zaluzianski, the Polish Linnæus published a work entitled "*Methodus Herbaria*." There were during that century more printing presses in Poland than at any time since, and more than in any other country in Europe in the same age. Books were printed in eighty-three towns, and there

were fifty presses in operation in Cracow alone. The press was free, and all the contending sects enjoyed full liberty to disseminate knowledge. While France, Germany, and England were deluged with the blood of scholars, and philosophers, philanthropists and reformers, Poland was an asylum for the persecuted. In the words of Rulhiere, "Mosques were raised among churches and synagogues." Leopold has always been the seat of three bishops, Greek, Armenian and Latin. Catholics printed their books at Cracow, Posen and Lublin; the confession of Augsburg printed theirs at Paniowicæ, Dombrowa, and Szamotuly; the reformers at Pinczow, Brzesc, Knyszyn, and Mieswiez; the Arians at Rakow, and Zaslow; and the Greeks at Ostrow, and Wilna in Lithuania. The chief merchants and manufacturers were Jews. Of these persons there were more than three thousand who employed nearly ten thousand workers in gold, silver and cloth. But Jews were prohibited from dealing in horses, or keeping inns.

The result of this intellectual freedom was most conspicuously exhibited on the occasion of the embassy to France on the election of Henry of Anjou, brother of Charles IX. of St. Bartholomew memory. The French were astonished, not only at the splendor of the equipments, but the air of dignity that distinguished these representatives of a free nation. "One of the most remarkable circumstances was their facility in expressing themselves in Latin, French, German, and Italian. These four languages were as familiar to them as their vernacular tongue. There were only two men of rank at court who could answer them in Latin, the Baron of Millau, and the Marquis of Castelnau,—Maurissiere. They had been commissioned expressly to support the honor of the French nation, that had reason to blush at their igno-

rance on this point. The ambassadors," several of whom were protestants, "spoke our language," it is an eye-witness that speaks, "with so much purity that one would have taken them rather for men educated on the banks of the Loire and the Seine, than for inhabitants of countries which are watered by the Vistula or the Dnieper, which put our courtiers to the blush, who knew nothing, but were open enemies of all science; so that when our guests questioned them they answered only with signs and blushes." Thuanus lib. LVI. Such was the court that destroyed the blood, the literature of the Huguenots, and which even required that Louis XVI. should take the oath at his coronation for the destruction of all heresy in France.

After the demise of Sigismund Augustus, and the close with him of the Jagellon dynasty, Poland was given over to the curse of an elective monarchy. The elective principle is applicable only where the ruler is elected for a short period, or perhaps "*quamdiu se bene gesserit.*" "As long as he shall behave himself well." Who is to pronounce on the "*bene?*" Obviously the electors who thus exercise the highest function of collective intelligence. The duty of watching for the "*bene,*" and the perspicacity in discovering it, possess high value in the promotion of general education. That education laid on foundations of unimpeded research and individual judgment, is the only hope of free national institutions. Paper constitutions and statutes are easily evaded. But the general sense of right and wrong is a powerful corrective, if populations be absolutely free to reason, and be liberally provided with means of practical instruction. The reverse of these principles was the system and the policy of the house of Anjou; and yet by a dangerous misdirection the Poles were induced to introduce into their free

and progressive community the chief enemy of all its best elements. After Henry's election, and after he had taken the oath to protect the religious liberties of Poland, Cardinal Hosius wrote to the newly elected king, "that he ought not to follow the example of Herod but rather that of David, who to his greatest praise kept not what he had thoughtlessly sworn. * * As the king had sinned with Peter so ought he to atone for his sin with him, amend his error, and reflect that the oath was not a bond of iniquity, and that there was no necessity for him to be absolved of his oath, because according to every law, all that he had inconsiderately done was neither binding nor had any value." Solikowski, another Roman prelate, gave even more insidious advice. He said that Henry ought to promise and swear everything prescribed to him; but that when possessed of the throne he would have every means to crush the heretics. Even during the very ceremony of coronation, and when the crown was about to be placed on Henry's head, the oath to protect religious liberty had still been artfully omitted. At this critical point Firley, palatine of Cracow, interrupted the ceremony, and resolutely declared that the coronation should not proceed unless the oath was taken. Seizing the crown Firley declared aloud: "Si non jurabis, non regnabis." "If you do not swear you shall not reign." The king was obliged to take the oath from a scroll handed by Dembinski. Firley died shortly afterward, not without suspicion of poison. Henry's life was dissolute; the nation was disgusted; and the revengeful spirit of the clergy would have hurried the kingdom into civil slaughter but for the dastardly and hurried flight of the king on hearing of the demise of his brother Charles IX. The sudden defection of Stephen Bathori to Romanism on the arguments of Solikowski enabled the Roman

clergy to perfect their schemes against the thought and literature of Poland. The Jesuits obtained complete control over the mind of Bathori. Their schools were established in many places, and the persecutions began. The church of Cracow was attacked in 1574 by a mob who destroyed everything they could seize. The printing office at Wilna was next assailed and the type destroyed. George Radziwill, bishop of Wilna, collected all the reformed books he could procure and publicly burned them. The publication and sale of any but Roman books were strictly prohibited. Protestant funerals were constantly attacked and the bodies thrown into the streets. The king took no open part in the existing disorders, but while he issued edicts forbidding them, he was not in any way solicitous to punish the perpetrators. All these disorders were directly instigated by the Jesuits. Bathori died at Grodno in 1586.

During the reign of Sigismund the Third, of Sweden, a pretended Lutheran, but real Romanist, the Jesuits excited continual commotion, and by the aid of the royal authority very great injuries were inflicted on the fortunes of Polish thought and literature. Churches were destroyed, books scattered and burned, congregations dispersed. The numerous estates, or starosties, possessed by the king in virtue of his office, were employed as bribes to induce protestants to abandon their faith. Protestant schools were attacked and the pupils beaten. Cracow was frequently the scene of these disorders. The jesuit pupils were foremost in such disturbances, and in proportion as jesuit schools multiplied, the fanaticism of the pupils deepened against all literature and knowledge except that of Rome. This violence increased every year. The court afforded no redress. No minister dare show himself in a town containing a jesuit school.

The church and library at Wilna were twice destroyed, and at length in 1640 the church and school of this place were abolished by the diet itself. The appearance of a protestant in Wilna was forbidden by the Jesuits. These persecutions at length aroused open resistance. Civil war provoked directly by the excesses of the jesuit partizans raged from 1606 to 1608. The final defeat of armed opposition led to increased severities, and at length almost to the annihilation of all free thought in religion and politics in Poland. Sigismund's sister Anna, a zealous protestant, was a melancholy spectator of this desolation. She died at Strasburg in 1635. The pope refused permission for the interment of her remains in the royal vault of Cracow. The university of Cracow long continued to be coveted by the Jesuits, who made great efforts to gain possession of it. The quarrel was decided in favor of the university in 1628. The institution dwindled, however, as there were no primary schools now left to supply students. It arose again only on the general restoration of science and literature during the last century. In 1618 the censorship was established, although contrary to the law, which sustained the liberty of the press. But the spirit which denies faith with heretics necessarily breaks down the sense of moral obligation in everything. The first Index Prohibitorum Librorum was published by the bishop of Cracow in 1617. A blight fell upon the literature and intellect of the nation.

Sigismund's successor, Ladislav IV., was of a very different stamp from his father. The liberties of the country were fully confirmed. The primate, however, undertook to prohibit the circulation of the Scriptures, although a copy was openly accepted by the King from the hand of Prince Christopher Radziwill, a descendant of

Radziwill who presented a similar donation to Sigismund Augustus. The synod of Warsaw supported the primate,—1634,—declaring that the doctrine which allowed every man to search the Scriptures was invented by Satan. Pope Urban VIII. confirmed the resolution.

The election of John Casimir, a pretender to the throne of Sweden, completed the destruction of Poland. The reformers wholly despaired of justice from a zealous romanist. The pretensions of the King of Sweden were therefore favored, and Great Poland was desolated by civil war, as well as by an invasion of Cossacks. The memories of former wrongs added religious fury to other causes of strife. Both religious parties suffered very severely. Churches were destroyed and schools totally obliterated. The reformers were reduced to the last extremity and the greatest misery prevailed. Cracow was again the scene of furious intolerance, and the reformed principles again expelled, chiefly by the jesuit students who exceeded all barbarity in their indecent wickedness. Protestant churches were sacked. Many libraries were wantonly destroyed; among others, that of Wengieuski, the historian of the church of Cracow, and a well was filled with his books. Meat was openly roasted at a fire composed entirely of writings of the fathers of the church. The Cossacks extended this destruction through Little Poland, Red Russia, Volhynia, and Podolia. Protestant literature was annihilated in Poland during this reign.

Not only literature but the means for creating and distributing literature were destroyed. The liberty of the press, established in 1539, could not be suppressed for nearly a century. But the clergy succeeded, under Sigismund the third, in enacting many injurious restrictions. Presses established by reformers in towns directly subject

to royal jurisdiction were either abolished or converted to romanist purposes. In October, 1621, a royal decree prohibited the printing or custody of any book whatever, especially on religious subjects, without ecclesiastical authority. The synod of Warsaw extended these provisions to an inquisitorial examination of libraries and booksellers' shops. This resolution was forced by the clergy into the authority of a law although it was never sanctioned. Under these influences all the books in the country that could remind posterity of Polish grandeur and civilization were condemned. This grandeur was associated with heretical patriots, and must be obliterated. Not only were books published by reformers destroyed in every direction, but all that might contain passages in any way distasteful to Rome were either burned or mutilated. Nay, the publication of a book from a printing office whence a heretical work had been issued was a sufficient cause of condemnation. All the books that had been printed at Cracow, from 1550 to 1590, by Wierzbienta, were burned without regard to their contents by the Roman clergy. Many protestants who became romanists gave their libraries to the flames. Sliepecki, a wealthy noble, who became a romanist, burned his large library without any distinction. Thus, many works of the Augustan age of Polish literature were totally lost. Many works on theology and volumes of sermons remarkable for talent, purity of diction, elevation of sentiment and eloquence, were totally obliterated. During the progress of the sixteenth century, the Socinian community established itself in Poland, chiefly at Rakow and Lublin between 1585 and 1638—being their most flourishing period. Their school at Rakow was the chief seat of their education, not only for Poland, but for Europe. It was the Rome of Socinianism. This

school was founded in 1602, and secured for Rakow the honorable appellation of the Sarmatian Athens. It was conducted by scholars eminent among the learned world, and was attended by about a thousand pupils. The town became an important center of commerce, and the press issued many literary and scientific books. Other schools of this denomination were established at Lublin, Zaporow, Gozdow, Sandecz, Luklavage, where Socinus spent the close of his life, and where he was buried. The school at this place was celebrated and was attended by youths from Poland and Transylvania. The Socinians possessed many other schools. They were particularly zealous in disseminating their opinions, and early became the object of much hatred from the roman clergy. One of the most distinguished teachers was Wiszowski, or Vissovatus. During the invasion of the Cossacks he was compelled to flee from Siedliski to Lublin. Returning to Poland, he settled at Robkow, in the palatinate of Cracow. In 1656 his house was attacked by a mob of Romanist fanatics excited by their priests. His library, large and learned as well as that of Lubieniecki, was totally destroyed. He was the author of sixty-two productions, chiefly theological. The Socinian communities were finally banished in 1660. Here let it be noted that all these atrocities in Poland, as well as those contemporary in Bohemia, were perfectly well known in England. The sympathy of Charles I. and of his partizans for a system similar to that which murdered Poland, tightened the sinews and steeled the hearts of Cromwell and his Ironsides. The furious rage of the Jesuits brought down deserved resentment on their embattled supporters in Ireland, and explain most of the proceedings adopted in that island to break their power. The precautions adopted against a revival of jesuit ascend-

ency in Ireland were a defensive retaliation, at the moment when the cause of human freedom, social, political, religious, and literary, was sustained only by two heroes,—Gustavus Adolphus and Oliver Cromwell, and their hands alone upheld the torch that illumined the world. During the protectorate, a deputation from the afflicted reformers in Poland was despatched to Holland and England for relief. These representatives, Hartman and Cyrill, drew up a memorial describing the barbarities inflicted on the Polish protestants without distinction of age or sex. A copy exists in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, entitled “*Ultimus in Protestantæ Bohemiæ Confessionis Ecclesiæ Antichristi Furor.*” A printed statement was presented by these delegates to Cromwell, who authorized them by an ordinance, dated May 2d, 1659, to raise subscriptions through the country.

The reigns of Wisniowietski, and John Sobieski furnished no respite. Pulpits rang with denunciations against heretical opinions and books. The sanguinary ferocity displayed against Lyszczyński who in mockery wrote the words “*Ergo non est Deus,*” and was condemned to a most atrocious sentence—1689—and the still more sanguinary judicial murders at Thorn in 1724, indicate the inhuman thirst for blood that distinguished the Jesuits. The reigns of the Saxon princes, Augustus the Second, and Augustus the Third, were extremely disastrous to Poland. Stanislaw Leszczyński, who had been elected through the aid of Charles XII. of Sweden, was entirely overthrown by the battle of Pultava, and with him the hopes of the reformers fell utterly. The return of Augustus the Second under Russian influence filled the country with disorder, and the Jesuits were able to continue their persecutions, through the aid of excited fanatical mobs without the least control. Peter

the Great offered his mediation in 1716, and a treaty was concluded which crushed Poland for ever. The chief plenipotentiary of Augustus was Szaniawski, bishop of Cujavia. He was entirely under the influence of Peter, and inserted into the treaty a clause which reduced the Polish army to 18,000 men—forbade the reformers to have any religious service in any church built later than 1674, allowed only private service without singing, ordered the destruction of all churches in towns, villages, and even private residences since that date, and forbade all meetings for preaching and singing, both public and private. The diet became completely occupied by creatures of the Jesuits, and reformed nuncios forbidden to take their seats. Persecution grew more severe than ever. In Great Poland alone, between 1718 and 1754, more than thirty churches were either destroyed or forcibly adapted to Romish worship. The completion of Poland's degradation is set forth in a petition presented to Poniatowski and the diet in 1766. "Our youth," say the memorialists, "is obliged to grow up in ignorance, and without the knowledge of God as schools are forbidden to us in many places. Many difficulties are frequently opposed to the vocation of ministers to our churches, and their visits to the sick and dying are exposed to much danger. We must dearly pay for the permission of performing the rites of baptism, marriages and burials, because the price for it is arbitrarily fixed by those who give such permission. The burying of our dead even at night time is exposed to great danger; and we are obliged in order to baptize children to carry them out of the country. The *jus patronatus* in our estates is disputed, our churches are subject to the visitation of Roman Catholic bishops; our church discipline, maintained according to the ancient order is subject to great

impediments. In many towns people belonging to our confessions are compelled to follow Roman Catholic processions. The ecclesiastical laws or *jura canonica* are imposed on us. Not only children proceeding from mixed marriages are compelled to be educated in Roman Catholic religion, but children of a Protestant widow who marries a Roman Catholic are compelled to embrace the confession of their step-father." Such was the condition of things established by men who still claim universal authority, which necessarily means the right to do the same again. The entire proceedings of the Jesuits in Poland were directed to the utter extirpation of a literature, and the total repression of the capacity to produce one. Well may Krasinski inquire "What has the Roman church to do with the political advantages or disadvantages of a nation, which depend on so many circumstances of a nature different and variable according to the localities, forms of government, and external and internal relations of a country. The interest of Rome is clear and unchangeable; it is the establishment and propagation of what it calls truth; and destruction of what it calls error, and this without any regard, whether the political interests of separate nations and countries be benefited or injured by it."

TOULOUSE

LUCILIO VANINI—PARLIAMENT OF TOULOUSE

A. D. 1619

The persecutions of literature did not cease with the opening of the seventeenth century. The disturbed and agitated condition of many Italian minds at that day is well illustrated by the brief history of Lucilio Vanini.

Born in Taurisano about 1585, he studied at Rome and Padua. Subsequently Vanini taught at Geneva, Paris and Lyons. In England he maintained Roman views, and traveled thence again to Geneva and Lyons. In 1615 appeared his *Amphitheatrum Æternæ Providentiæ*, directed against atheism in various forms. His reasoning seems to have been as successful as that of the English bishop of London, who once discoursed without notes, on the being of a God. After the services the pastor and a humble member of the congregation discussed the sermon. During the conversation the pastor was startled by the declaration of the humble member: "I cannot agree with your reverence, I think there be a God." Vanini seems to have convinced his readers, or they pretended to think so, that his own views were atheistical. Another volume published in 1616 was at first approved by the Sorbonne, but afterward ordered to be burned. Vanini removed to Toulouse, then the seat of a provincial parliament. His learning and eloquence attracted many auditors; but his bold speculations or learned reasonings failed of the effect intended. Vanini

was arrested and imprisoned. A tedious trial of six months ended in a conviction on a vague charge of free thinking. His tongue was cut out and he was himself burned at the stake February 19, 1619.

ROME

ANTONIO DE DOMINIS—THE INQUISITION

17TH CENTURY

The life and fortunes of De Dominis form almost a unique chapter in modern history. The incidents of most prominence are shrouded in mystery, and the most probable explanation can be found in the character of the principal persons rather than in the events.

Born about 1566, a native of Arbe, a small island off the coast of Dalmatia, historical as the refuge of Bela King of Hungary, when pursued by the Tartars in 1241, young De Dominis received his early education at Loreto in the Illyrian college. He subsequently taught rhetoric at Verona and mathematics at Padua. At Brescia he also lectured on logic and philosophy. He claimed also to have been employed in still more important affairs for the Jesuits, to whose society he belonged. His talents and learning were considerable, and he was advanced first to the bishopric of Senia,—Senga, or Zengh, on the coast of Dalmatia, and after two years to the archbishopric of Spalatro, one of the three metropolitan churches of that province.

At this period of his life De Dominis composed a large work entitled, *De Republica Ecclesiastica*, and as he was not very well versed in Greek he submitted the sheets to

Bedell, the English chaplain to Sir Henry Wotton, ambassador to Venice. De Dominis was already an author of several smaller works in which the doctrines of Rome were severely condemned. He resigned his archbishopric, and was able to induce Bedell and others to believe in the sincerity of his abandonment of the Roman church. With Bedell De Dominis arrived in England in December, 1616, and being well recommended he was hospitably entertained by the archbishop of Canterbury. The accession of so distinguished a Jesuit as the archbishop of Spalatro rather dazzled James I., and flattered his controversial tendencies. De Dominis was presented with the mastership of the Savoy, and next with the deanery of Windsor, in April, 1618. He retained these positions quietly for three years. At this point the mystery commences. The *Republica Ecclesiastica* had been published in London in 1617, but a change had taken place in the sentiments of De Dominis, either on the subject of ecclesiastical promotion or religious opinion, or both. According to his own statement, which is exceedingly likely to be correct, he had been tampered with by two popes, Paul V. and Gregory XV., both of whom labored to induce him to return to Italy. The latter was especially urgent, and "did hereupon take new care and endeavor to invite him again and again." The inducement held out to him was the reconciliation of the two churches. De Dominis accordingly wrote to King James asking to be relieved of his dignities that he might return to Italy. This letter, dated January 16, 1621, created a flutter of surprise, suspicion and displeasure. James commissioned the bishops of London and Durham, and the dean of Winchester, to examine and question De Dominis. He was subjected to repeated interrogatories, but the report of his answers was unsatisfactory. He was

described as a "wily beguily," and the King's honor was supposed to be jeopardized by him. Finally, De Dominis was called before the King's commissioners, at Lambeth. By them he was admonished "of his evil carriage towards his majesty," and ordered to quit the kingdom, never to return. During all these proceedings the answers of De Dominis were evasive and equivocal. He wished to serve two masters. The early love of the former church had been revived by the artfulness of popes and jesuits. De Dominis had obtained all that he could in the publication of his books; and the soothing and repeated solicitations of Gregory XV. clearly outweighed whatever convictions he had held on doctrinal subjects. He was treacherously outwitted and betrayed. In one of his works he complained that "things are brought to such a pass in these times that ecclesiastical controversies are now no longer committed unto divines or counsellors; but are to be defended at Rome, or from Rome, by hangmen, and tormenters, and executioners, and bloody-minded men, and parricides." After this fierce arraignment he ought to have remembered the fate of Coriolanus. When once he quit Rome he ought never to have relented. De Dominis quitted England in April, 1622. At Brussels a brief pardon was communicated to him, and he then preceeded to Rome, where he was kindly received by Gregory XV,— at first. Here he published an "Exposition of the Reasons of his Return from England." According to a Catholic writer, "very soon after the publication of this retraction there appeared reason to suspect the sincerity of its unhappy author. It was ascertained that he was engaged in a correspondence with persons whose opinions were more than suspicious, and the correspondence *being intercepted* betrayed the utter insincerity of the professions which

he had so solemnly put forth." Who these persons were or how "it was ascertained," or what were the opinions, is not stated. But on this flimsy pretext, clearly managed in order to ensnare De Dominis, he was arrested, and imprisoned in the castle of St. Angelo, in 1624. Proceedings were instituted against him by the Inquisition. He died in prison, under circumstances involving grave suspicion of poison;—1625. The charge of heresy was extended to his works. The sentence was pronounced after his death. His remains were exhumed and publicly burned, together with his books, in the Campo di Fiori. This unfortunate prelate, who was probably sincere in his early denunciations of Rome, was a scholar and a philosopher. His works include a treatise on optics, "*De radiis visis, et lucis in nitris perspectivis, et Iridis Tractatus.*" According to the high authority of Newton this tract first correctly explained the phenomena of the rainbow. But that did not save it from the condemnation of the inquisition.

BOHEMIA

FERDINAND II.—A. D. 1620 to A. D. 1648

Notwithstanding the cruelties inflicted on Bohemia by the first Ferdinand, after the battle of Muhlberg had placed that unhappy country in his hands, the Bohemians had made great efforts to restore their industries and their literature. A wise and tolerant prince could easily have converted that suffering land into a prosperous kingdom. The people still displayed hope and zeal; the elasticity of spirit which had been theirs for a thou-

sand years still animated their counsels, and they possessed a large remnant of their ancient rights and constitution, albeit in a very mangled form. The brief reign and generous mind of Maximilian II. encouraged Bohemia to hope for a national revival. A confession of faith was presented by the reformers to this prince, and was well received. The various divisions of reformers, Lutherans, Calvinists, Bohemian Brothers, Tschech and German had learned to "dwell together in unity," and no Lipan with its carnage of brethren by brethren, at the instigation of deceitful enemies, could yield further victims to the fratricidal strife that had been inherited from earlier days. The "Utraquists," as the Bohemian Protestants were generally called, from their old claim to administer the Eucharist in both bread and wine—*sub utraque*—were the bulk of the nation; and they were wise enough to disregard the reproaches of critics, who censured them for their want of distinctness, and of virulence in the assertion of their opinions. The well-known sarcasm of the day "The men who follow Calvin's dogmas possess neither faith nor piety" was futile as directed against men who had learned, by dreadful experience, the folly of altercations on varieties of sentiment where so much depends on individual peculiarities, and mental tendencies. While Maximilian was gracious to Bohemia, and accepted the confession of faith in 1557, unhappily the liberties he accorded were not formally registered among the imperial edicts. Subsequent events showed that this omission was due to deliberate malice; and the Bohemians were long impressed with the belief that Maximilian's edicts were part of the archives of the empire. The early death of this prince which gave rise to very evil suspicions of poison, was a very severe misfortune for Bohemia. Rudolph II., his successor, was

a pupil of the Jesuits who were believed to have made way for him by a method well known and frequently practiced in that era, and before. His administration was at once signalized by violence to the reformers. Many of their churches were forcibly closed; others completely destroyed, and the preachers driven into exile. Still the reformed faith continued without intermission to be generally professed. But in 1604, a brief from pope Clement VIII. gave the signal for persecution and tyranny. This bull was dated October 14, and was addressed to Sbinko de Berka, archbishop of Prague. Henceforward every officer, civil or political, every preacher, professor, and librarian, including the tutors in private families even of the nobles, was peremptorily required to sign a profession of the Roman belief in order to exercise his functions. In modern terms, his official head was taken off unless he abjured his creed, if it happened to be a creed different from the Roman. This vindictive tyranny was the real beginning of the thirty years' war which desolated the world so dreadfully. During the continuance of that horrible struggle, measures of retaliation were sometimes taken of the same kind as those inflicted; but the train was first laid, and then fired by Rome, without any pressure or solicitation from without. Immediately the romanist proprietors commenced a series of atrocious persecutions against their tenants, to compel them to abjure their creed. Relief was temporarily obtained in the family discord that divided the Habsburgs. Rudolph was pressed by his brother Mathias; and according to the usual artifices of the Austrian imperial family he did not disdain to solicit aid from those very persons whose "lives, fortunes and sacred honor" he was at that moment sworn secretly to destroy by every atrocity possible to him. His protestant

subjects were appealed to; but those persons had known protestants who had burned their fingers by yielding aid to sovereigns who employed their services only to weaken, betray, and destroy them. Charles V. and others had done the same thing. The protestant chiefs declined the required assistance until they had received guarantees that must form part of the fundamental law of the empire. Charles I. of England attempted a similar policy with his subjects not many years afterward, but the example of Bohemia was still noisome, and "smelt to heaven."

Here let us note the fact that the experiences of Bohemia, during the present struggle, furnish the clue to the comprehension of the acts of the British parliament in its long contest with Charles I.; and the acts of Cromwell are explained and justified, and the acts of William III. are sustained and illumined by the experiences of Bohemians during their struggle for liberty and life.

Taught by bitter experience, as the English barons had also been taught in an earlier age, and as Coligny and Condé had been taught more recently, that the word of princes avails only as long as the expediency continues, the Bohemian leaders with the example and the warning of "Ugonotorum Strages" before their eyes, required from Rudolph a formal charter in an edict known as "Lettre de Majesté." This description of imperial decree was signed with the imperial seal attached, and became a fundamental law irrevocable. Ordinary edicts had force only during the life of the reigning sovereign. The diet of 1608 did not give satisfaction; and the following year the Bohemians lost patience, and prepared for a struggle by ordering levies of troops. Then at last Rudolph yielded. In English phraseology, subsidies were withheld until grievances were redressed. On the 9th of July Rudolph in a very

bad temper signed the "Lettre de Majesté" which secured the religious and political rights of Bohemia. The official designation of the reformers was "The Nobles, Knights and Commons Sub Utraque." The Bohemians retained their ancient constitutional and parliamentary division into nobles, knights and commons, as they had done for many centuries, long before Simon de Montfort's parliament acquired a crude beginning in England. The rights thus secured included the election of special magistrates, *defensores fidei*, or deputies representing the reformed bodies in the imperial court. The great body of the people were sheltered from tyranny and persecution. The great palladium "nec super eum ibimus" was spread over them; and it had much more significance than in the grand charter of Runnymede. The university of Prague was restored to the utraquists. More than five hundred churches were re-opened by this edict, and ecclesiastical affairs were assigned to a consistory representing the different communions presided over by an administrator. The neighboring provinces of Moravia and Silesia obtained similar guarantees at the same time.

At this date the protestant cause seemed full of promise. In Upper and Lower Austria, Silesia, Moravia, Dalmatia, Spain and Germany, as well as in England and northern Europe generally, the protestant reform had spread and grown strong. But there were occurrences very unfavorable. There had been leagues and counter leagues, massacres and destructions, and still the strife continued. The struggle concerning the bishopric of Strasburg, in 1592, was unfavorable. The suppression of the protestants in Aix la Chapelle, in 1597, and above all the confiscation of the free city of Donauwerth, in 1607, were calamities showing the unhappy want of union

among the protestant powers. But the house of Habsburg was distracted also. Mathias proved himself little capable of restoring the prestige of the family; and the dynasty seemed threatened with dissolution. In this conjuncture the members of the family, in union with the Spanish branch, determined to select one of their number possessing energy, or rather ferocity sufficient to make head against impending perils. The choice fell on Ferdinand of Styria. This prince was the loved child of the Jesuits, and reproduced their peculiar spirit with natural aptness and avidity. In his own domain he had crushed out all semblance of dissentience with more than an iron hand. Carafa, the papal nuncio, declared that "the heresies of Luther and Calvin, not to mention others less important, had made such progress that all the provinces of the empire, except the Tyrol, Bavaria and the archdiocese of Salzburg, might be regarded as more heretic than catholic." Between 1509 and 1609 the "re-catholization" of Styria, Corinthia and Carniola, was effected by means similar to those practiced in Italy, Spain and elsewhere. In this general condition of affairs, when the public mind was greatly agitated, and the rancor of the pope and empire were evidenced by many tokens, a spark could readily create a conflagration. Mathias was obliged to present Ferdinand to the Diet. He was accepted by the Hungarians; but the Bohemians claimed a confirmation of their rights before promising their adhesion to Ferdinand's election. They knew his maxim,—"*Cujus regio, ejus religio*," which may be freely rendered, "A man's religion belongs to his master to settle." Notwithstanding the guarantee accorded by the *Lettre de Majesté*, the partizans of Ferdinand in Bohemia well knew what conduct would please their master. They were well aware that edicts and statutes

will not enforce themselves; and that if the central authority withholds its power a decree is a dead letter. Throughout Bohemia many persecutions were still practised by individual proprietors against their tenants. Particularly prominent in this conduct were the archbishop of Prague, the bishop of Olmütz, and the imperial councilors Slawata and Martinitz. The last named employed English mastiff dogs against the peasants of his estates to drive them to the Catholic church, and then the mouths of the miserable wretches were forcibly opened to compel them to swallow the host. Slawata and Martinitz earned the fiercest hatred by such practices. Some utraquist churches were thrown down violently, and this circumstance increased the exasperation. None of these injuries obtained the least redress, and the *defensores fidei* determined to convoke the estates sub utraque to decide on the course to be taken. This assembly met in the Hradschin, at Prague, May 23d, 1618. Violent altercations took place. Slawata and Martinitz were flung from a window, but their lives were saved by a heap of litter. The dreadful thirty years' war had begun. The Bohemians, however, could not believe that a fierce extermination had been arranged for them. They were remiss in preparation and slow in movement. They had not yet risen above the destructive maxim that the subject has no rights except with the consent of his lord. This principle was wholly rejected in the subsequent contest in England; and is now spurned except by a few zealots. The rights of men depend on what is right and not on the will of anybody. The Bohemians were especially unfortunate in their choice of a leader. Frederic, elector palatine, son-in-law of James I. of England, was a very poor representative of the knighthood of the time, or of any time. The prestige of his family alliance amounted only to an

utter negation. Neither Frederic himself nor any of his councilors understood the real nature of the struggle, or the principles involved. It was a two-fold contest;—between freedom of thought in religion and the old tyranny of Rome, and between civil liberty and absolutism. In the eyes of Ferdinand it was wholly a religious,—a holy war. His mind was absorbed in fanatical thoughts, and he would have accepted a vast cemetery covering his entire empire rather than what he deemed heresy. This spirit of the thirty years' war explains the round-head movement in England, in opposition to the imperialist tendencies of Charles I., united as they were with the Roman ambition to uproot all freedom of religious opinion. This spirit has descended to our times, and animates much of the policy of continental Europe to this day. France is governed by this spirit still in her dealings with the Hovas of Madagascar, and the aborigines of New Caledonia. Her crusade in those directions is aimed more at the subversion of protestant missions than the establishment of penal colonies. The thirty years' war and its antecedents explain the Irish movements, and the bible burnings that still disgrace them. The massacre of 1641, in Ulster, was only a repetition of St. Bartholomew, of the massacre of the Grisons, and the awful destruction and carnage of Magdebourg. Cromwell's Ironsides fought to save themselves from a fate similar to that which annihilated millions of their brethren in Bohemia. They saved literature as well as liberty. The artist who painted the picture of Cromwell at Marston Moor, and placed an open book in the hand of the officer at the head of the reserve regiment, adopted in that book an emblem of the great cause for which Cromwell fought that probably he never intended, but one that is most appropriate. The open

quarrel with the imperial government could only end in war. But the battle of the White Mountain, near Prague, November 8th, 1620, prostrated the utraquist cause, and left the whole country more completely at the feet of Ferdinand and the Jesuits than Germany had been before Charles V. after the battle of Muhlberg. Ferdinand was not precipitate. Every fibre in his frame was animated by the desire to make catholicism universal in his states. He was a religionist and a fanatic without a particle of the statesman. But popes and cardinals have never hesitated to forego extremities against religious opponents if they believed that too complete success was likely to render catholic princes powerful or independent. This principle explains anomalies, especially in the policy of Richelieu. It was not love for protestants, nor yet the moderation of the statesman that supplied the motive, but a desire to make use of protestant strength in restraining and helping to humiliate catholic powers lest they might grow too strong to be handled. Hence, Urban VIII. was not very zealous in his support of Ferdinand at first. The reformed religion was strong in Bohemia. One hundred and fifty years had brought the great bulk of the people out of Rome; and among the upper classes it was a disgrace to be a romanist. The professors of that faith were despised as being the dregs of the people. The "aristocracy of protestantism" was universal. In Bohemia, as in France, "*Riche comme un protestant*," was a proverb. Craft and division were therefore first adopted. The first emotion of the utraquists exhibited itself in an outburst against a renewal of oppression now remembered with bitterness. The zeal of 1420 was present indeed on the two hundredth anniversary afterward, but there was no John Ziska to unite his countrymen, and give them tri-

umphs even in his blindness. The year 1618 had witnessed much violence in Prague. Frederic's court preacher, Abraham Schultz, encouraged many harsh proceedings against Catholic churches, and Lutherans and utraquists alike were scandalized at his violence. His proceedings created a bitter hatred in the minds of catholics. Accordingly when the gates of Prague admitted Maximilian of Bavaria, two days after the battle of the White Mountain, an immense procession of ecclesiastics greeted the conqueror, and demanded the restoration of their revenues. Others less patient seized the estates that had been sequestrated. The protestants humbled themselves before the new governor, prince Charles of Lichtenstein, after the flight of Frederic; but the time for severity had not yet arrived. Mansfield still was in strength in Bohemia, and Hungary was menacing. But the catholics were restored to supremacy. Needful here to repeat the dreadful story of the almost total subversion of protestantism in Bohemia. It was accomplished by means at once violent and insidious. In 1621 the political situation changed. Mansfield was obliged to evacuate the upper palatinate, and Gabriel Bethlem negotiated and retired from Hungary. The imperial regiments hitherto stationed in the border provinces were now marched into Bohemia. As soon as these troops arrived cardinal Carafa at once put the imperial edict in rigorous execution. June 19th, 1621, twenty-seven of the principal protestant leaders were condemned to death. The next day the sentence was executed on twenty-six. From five in the morning until ten, a succession of victims marched to the scaffold in presence of the prince of Lichtenstein and a trembling crowd. These men were the most learned and eminent persons in Bohemia who were thus sacrificed. Among

them was Wendlas, of Budowa, president of the court of appeals, and John Jessenius, the illustrious rector of the University, persons in no way guilty,—except of being protestants.

The Calvinist preachers were the next to feel the blow. They were all ordered peremptorily to leave the country, December 13, 1621. The administrator of the consistory was ordered, 1st, to provide a large sum of money for the payment of the troops; 2, to disavow the coronation of Frederic; 3, to restore the catholic institutions; 4, to accept ordination from the archbishop of Prague; 5, the other members were ordered to put away their wives or receive dispensation. These proposals were indignantly rejected. The Lutheran pastors were expelled at the same time. Two churches were allowed to remain open in Prague for the sake of policy, as it was not then considered expedient to lose the vote of Saxony. Bohemia was one universal scene of violence and confiscation. Cardinal Carafa allowed the court no rest in his demands for plunder and confiscation, and persecution. The most painful scenes were constantly witnessed in the malicious violence practised everywhere by the troops on the defenceless Bohemians. But no extensive enterprises were undertaken. Numberless cruelties were inflicted throughout the villages. Every artifice of malignity was put in force to compel the people to abjure. Young babies were torn from their mothers who were not allowed to approach their offspring notwithstanding the most bitter cries and tears, and the painful lamentations of the little innocents themselves, until the poor mothers consented to renounce their creed. The men were beaten, plundered, and murdered, in every direction. The soldiers were permitted every license with impunity to compel the people to

return to catholicism. Abjuration, or exile and confiscation was the universal sentence pronounced against the wealthy and educated classes. Very few accepted the terms; and thousands migrated into the neighboring countries. Bohemia was reduced from a population of over four millions to about eight hundred thousand by the sword, the block, the torture, and the dragonade.

Let it be remembered that it was in the same year, 1620, that certain pilgrim fathers landed on a certain Plymouth rock. When this fact is recalled, and we reflect that the cruelties in Bohemia were recounted by the succeeding arrivals in later years, perhaps we shall be less surprised that stringent measures were adopted to keep out of the struggling colony the roman principles that created the devastation of Bohemia.

One of the most effectual and fiendish devices adopted by Ferdinand was the deliberate debasement of the money. Between 1622 and 1624 the country was flooded with the basest of base money, and more dreadful injuries were wrought by this stuff toward the utter ruin of the people than could have been caused by ten years' war contributions. This fact was also remembered in England sixty years later, when James II. adopted a similar device. The imperial commissaries traversed the country exhorting the people to become catholics. But acceptance of the terms offered was no protection. The pastor of Bohdalow, Paul Psentschka, an old man of sixty, was burned over a slow fire with the books of his own library. Powder was forced into the throats of the victims and exploded. In some cases the hand was first cut off, then the tongue cut, and lastly the victim decapitated. Multitudes were slowly murdered in the horrible prisons into which they were crowded. These atrocities raged or relaxed according to the vicissitudes

of the war. After the peace with Bethlem Gabor, and the deaths of Mansfield and the duke of Saxe Weimar, the emperor felt more at liberty to redouble his torments of the Bohemians. From 1626 to 1628 the catalogue of atrocities became altogether unparalleled. Finding that tortures could not compel abjuration, wholesale expulsion was adopted. With an insidious treachery without equal the nobles were promised pardon if they requested it. Accordingly hundreds signed their names, and their signatures were at once declared proof of guilt, and they were robbed of their estates. In one year six hundred and forty-two lordships were confiscated. It is to that date and to such proceedings that the Lichtensteins, the Dietrichsteins, the Harrachs, the Villanis, the Buquois, the Gallas, the Dufours, the Collatos, the Colloredos, the Khevenhillers, the Kinskys, the Huerdos, the Maradas, owe their estates in Bohemia, by wholesale robberies of the plundered proprietors who had owned the soil since the days of Theodosius. It is to those robberies that they owe their titles as princes and counts of the Holy Roman Empire.

While these violences crushed the bodies of the Bohemians, another system became equally effectual against their intellect. The imperial "Commissaries of Reformation" were equally zealous to destroy books, as to mutilate tongues and bodies. The renaissance of literature had been active in Bohemia. It had at once caused and been promoted by the Reformation. A bright illumination had spread over the country, and penetrated every hamlet and every cottage. The Bible in the vernacular was universally read. Ferdinand's sole ambition was directed to rooting out what he called heresy. At that date bigotry became an insanity with catholic princes.

In order to uproot heresy no pains were spared, and no wickedness avoided.

To effect this purpose every living witness of the past, every link that could bind the population to former years of glory must be utterly destroyed. Wherever the commissaries arrived the people were assembled by the tolling of the church bell. Strict orders were issued that all books must be produced. After this ceremony domiciliary visits were paid to every house, and no delicacy was observed. Woe to the wretch who had hidden away a bible or a book of psalms. To discover these treasures the ingenuous simplicity of children was constantly employed with persistent artfulness. Refusal to produce books was punished with a fine of a hundred crowns, or six weeks' imprisonment in the stinking dens that were used as prisons. The secular arm was required to enforce these cruelties, to give an air of legality to the proceeding, and to afford a pretext for referring the entire process to the civil power, which was the image of the ecclesiastical,—the silhouette,—and showed that image even to the features. A few zealous missionaries substituted romish books for those seized. Those who relapsed were not spared. The Count de Nachod, one of these weak brethren, was compelled to fling the entire of his splendid library into the sewers of his palace.

When the books in any locality were all collected, an immense fire was kindled, and while the books were blazing before the eyes of the mourning people the monks regaled themselves with odious pleasantries on the similar fate awaiting the owners of the books in the fires of hell. These scenes are narrated by eye witnesses. The beautiful manuscripts of past ages were most ignobly desecrated in the monasteries. No selections or distinctions were permitted. All Bohemian

books of every description were condemned and consigned to indiscriminate destruction.

The character of many of these books may be judged of by a specimen found in 1841 by Mr. Kohl during a visit to the "Central" library at Prague. There were several Bibles in the Bohemian language printed in Venice;—one of the year 1506, while the great Aldine press was in its glory, a relic possibly of the great *auto da fe* of 1547. One of the most curious books was a Hussite Hymn Book written and illuminated with singular splendor. It was the joint production of the inhabitants of Prague. Every guild had a few hymns written and pictures painted to accompany them, and several noble families did the same; each family or corporation placing its arms or crest before its own portion of the book. All the pictures are painted in a masterly style. The same traveler remarked the "solid durable paper" of these books, adding that "our modern paper is but tinder in comparison." If we go on improving the manufacture as we have done of late, there will be nothing left in our public libraries but the solid old Incunabula, and vellum manuscripts.

This vandalism did not cease for years. The same systematic annihilation of Bohemian and protestant literature was long continued. One Jesuit, A. Konias, boasted that he had burned sixty thousand volumes. From that period Bohemian books have almost entirely disappeared. The whole literature of the nation was annihilated. Scarcely a shred of the literary products of eight hundred years of national life, and four hundred years of literary life has been discovered after minute investigation. The concentrated venom of all the poisoned hatreds of all the ages had been instilled into the souls of the destroyers of Bohemia. The world can find no par-

allel or resemblance to the intensity of malignity discharged against the people and literature of that most long-suffering and prostrate, and erstwhile most manly and independent kingdom. If there be a place reserved by the Most High, where the chiefest honor for testimony on earth shall be conferred, it shall be given first to the Vaudois, and next to the confessors and martyrs of Bohemia.

In every town there were placed to aid the curé a military commander, a burgomaster, a judge, and a receiver of catholics. All the instrumentalities of force were combined to crush the last symptom of thought in the people.

Certain formal prohibitions were enforced by special decree:

Article I forbade all persons to practise any trade, traffic or industry whatsoever, unless they professed the same faith as the prince.

II. Every person who should permit any person to preach, baptize, or solemnize marriage in his house, should be fined one hundred florins, or be imprisoned for six months.

III. No sepulture for deceased non-catholics, but the fees must be paid.

IV. Work on a saint's day prohibited.

V. Keeping saloon open during mass fined twenty florins; persons in the saloon, ten florins.

VI. Irreverent words punished with exile and confiscation.

VII. Ten florins fine for all persons who ate meat on Friday or Saturday without special permission.

VIII. Four pounds of wax candles penalty for absence from mass.

IX. Sending children to non-catholic schools, thirty florins fine for the poor, fifty for the rich.

X. Exile and confiscation of property for imparting instruction at home.

XI. Non-catholics deprived of the right to leave a will, and of the right to testify.

XII. No young man permitted to join any trade or profession unless a catholic.

XIII. Blasphemy against God or the House of Habsburg punished without mercy, and property confiscated.

XIV. Thirty florins fine for any inscription or emblematic figure derogatory to the catholic religion in any house.

XV. Banishment from the hospitals of all sick persons not converted by All Saints' Day, and in future only catholics to be received.

This general instruction was distributed through Bohemia and rigorously enforced. In this decree is to be found the root principle animating the parties to the struggle in Europe. It affords the explanation of the measures that were enforced in retaliation elsewhere; and it furnished the provocation for much of the spirit that governed the "Ironsides," and of the policy of Cromwell a few years later at Drogheda and elsewhere. It became the public law of Europe for a time; but it emanated from the "Holy Roman Empire." The cruelties perpetrated in Bohemia did not terminate the struggle. The peasants of Upper Austria destroyed two armies; but being without union they succumbed. A few thousands made an effort at Kónigratz, since famous for some chastisement in return inflicted on Austria, but were destroyed or dispersed by Wallenstein. The duke of Friedland's own subjects revolted but were repressed in blood. In the White Mountains of Moravia a few gallant

men maintained a long struggle against the imperial troops to 1632.

More than thirty-six thousand families, chiefly of the better class, migrated from Bohemia, and in their shameful prevarication the perpetrators of these enormities declaim against Bohemians as a caitiff race, and hold out their very name as a synonym of vagabondage. They first destroyed the literature utterly, and then reproached the people with ignorance. When Torstensein entered Bohemia in 1644, a pale light rose over the country. Many of the secret protestants revealed themselves. The same scenes were enacted in 1648, when Königsmark advanced to the siege of Prague. In 1650-1651 great numbers quitted Bohemia. The converted were always suspected, and much persecution was endured in consequence. The years 1696, 1710, 1715, 1722, 1725, and 1732 witnessed renewals of these sufferings, and still the complete extinction of the reformed light was not effected. In 1782 there were two pastors in Prague; in 1789 three hundred and ten families professed the reformed opinions. Throughout Bohemia the number reached more than forty-four thousand. These persons were widely scattered, usually extremely poor, and therefore the duty of instructing them was difficult. In 1849, during the civil commotions in Europe, book-burning was general in Bohemia. Many persons now living in America as well as in Europe well remember these scenes. Civil and political treatises were destroyed by the Roman priests, and an effort was renewed even at that late day to deprive Bohemians of all means of general instruction. In 1857 about one hundred thousand persons professed the protestant faith. They are surrounded by influences still extremely hostile; and their fidelity is a miracle of con-

stancy. A more complete narrative of these events will appear in "The Story of Bohemia."

IRELAND

DRUIDICAL BOOKS (?)—CHRISTIAN BOOKS—GREEK BOOKS
—PATRICK—DANES—NORMANS—ENGLISH

Who shall unravel the dreadful tangle of Irish history? In order that this narrative may be clear, two things are necessary. First, dates must be ascertained with some approach to exactness; second, the character of ancient Irish books must be investigated. In order to do these two things the fabulous must be at least pointed to; and the contradictions among Irish writers must be reconciled,—if possible. In attempting to accomplish this task, even within the moderate limits allowable, the most strict and scrupulous impartiality must be maintained.

To ascertain dates to any degree of intelligibility all references to a year 'of the world must be rejected. As no man knows how many years ago the world began, and no authority, human or divine, has been produced containing a canon for its discovery, all reference to A. M. 6597 or any other pretended specific year of that chronology must be relinquished. Such dates are mere imposture. They deceive only those whom every writer should especially avoid deceiving,—the unlettered and inexperienced.

A vast amount of Irish alleged history is supported only by such chronological abstractions. The events

attached to them are in the air. It must be our duty to restrain ourselves to the most authentic history now available.

In the first century of our era the Irish tribes were, and had long been in the possession of letters, that is written characters. The land of Ir was frequented by traders from England and possibly also from Gaul and Spain. Wherever there is commerce there is literature. The letters then possessed were of different kinds, and were partly of Phœnician and partly of native origin. These two kinds developed into the old Greek which was the foundation both of the Irish and British written letters, and into the Ogham, which found its fullest development just previous to the invasion of the Danes, and was not extinct in the seventeenth century, for Charles I. of England corresponded with the Irish chiefs, or they with him, in that phonetic style. Some extremely interesting tombs of the ninth century with Ogham inscriptions still remain. One in particular, the tombstone of "Conyan the swift, the nimble footed," in the "very black mountain of Callan," County Clare. There in the height of that wild range where the mountain slopes form a small amphitheater, with a reedy pond in the center—there on the gentle slope towards the east, sheltered from the fierce Atlantic blast, the hero of Inchiquin lies buried; and assuredly a wilder, grander monument, or a more sublime resting place was never accorded to mortal man. He fell fighting the Danes. The identity of the old Irish characters and the Greek is demonstrated by Ware in his antiquities. It is possible that different tribes employed different styles, and the Druids may have introduced the Grecian form. It is certain that Roman letters, or Roman customs, language, or ideas, did not exist at all in Ireland for several

centuries; and did not spread through Ireland so as to occupy the literature, the laws, or the religion of the majority of the people for more than a thousand years after the opening of the Christian era.

The Romans never conquered Ireland—never even set foot there for the purpose of conquest. Roman Catholic writers in very recent times have lamented the fact that Roman arms did not add one more conquest to the others that have subdued the island. The nearest approach to a conquest was the intention of Agricola, A. D. 82, to pass over from Scotland and take possession of the island. He thought that a comparatively small force would suffice. The words of Tacitus often quoted must be here introduced as a basis of calculation, and a historical landmark. “In the fifth summer’s campaign” (A. D. 82) “he embarked in the first Roman vessel that had first crossed the Estuary, and having penetrated into regions then unknown he defeated the inhabitants in several engagements, and lined the coast which lies opposite Ireland with a body of troops, not so much from apprehension of danger as with a view of future objects. He saw that Ireland lying between Spain and Britain, and at the same time convenient to the coasts of Gaul, might prove a valuable acquisition, capable of giving an easy communication, and of course strength and union to provinces disjoined by nature.”

Agricola had then in his camp an Irish chieftain, “*expulsum seditione domesticâ*,” driven out by civil dissension; and under appearance of friendship the Roman prepared to profit by his guest’s presence,—and “influence.” This Irish gentleman was, in all probability, not the first who had acted similarly, as the coasts of Britain were frequently visited and plundered by Irish pirates, and British chieftains offered as available opportunities

for revenge in Ireland as Agricola. This general's policy was also that of Rome during many subsequent centuries. He calculated that the conquest of Ireland "would be of advantage also against Britain, if liberty should be withdrawn even from sight." A free Ireland was a peril.

It is true that the poet Juvenal says:

"Arma quidem ultra

Littora Juvernæ promovimus":

"We extended our conquest beyond the coast of Ireland"; but as Agricola's position on the coast of Galloway extended beyond the stretch of the Irish coast northward just there, and two years later brought Roman ships within sight of Iceland, the words of the poet are scarcely exaggerated. The desertion of a Usipean cohort from the Roman camp under Agricola, their seizure of three vessels and escape around the north of Scotland revealed to the Romans the insular character of Britain, A. D. 84. From that date Romano British merchants visited Ireland, and Ptolemy contains a minute description of Irish tribes. The island was well understood. These Romano British merchants were Britons; and not Romans. No traces of the presence of Romans have been discovered in Ireland, either in coins, weapons, or antiquities of any kind, except the residuary material lost by some itinerant silver-smith, who had some worn out coins for use in his trade. While it is not only probable but fairly certain that previous traders had visited the Irish coast, it appears also probable that the number was not great, and that Irish piracy which necessarily grew up in the wake of regular traffic rendered the coast unsafe, and continued until suppressed by the Roman, and eventually the Saxon fleets. The Welsh and Irish were kindred people and allies in forays, and the Scoti who migrated to

Scotland were at first also allies of their former countrymen. This fact accounts for the interchange of dimly discernible events claimed by Irish and Welsh, and occasionally by all three. The chief stations occupied by Roman troops to check these marauders were Deva, now Chester, where the twentieth legion was stationed to restrain the Welsh, the Brigantes of the Cumberland mountains, a Cymbrian tribe, as the name indicates, and to protect the river Dee, the usual point of attack by the Irish. The second legion was stationed at the Silurian Isca, Caerleon in Monmouthshire, to watch the southern Welsh, and guard the Severn from Irish pirates. The Roman Retigonum modern Stranraer, was certainly, for some time, a defensive post against Irish from the opposite coast of the modern Down. Thus secured, the inland towns of Britain flourished, and wealth of population and possessions and buildings grew rapidly.

Not only did the Druidical class possess letters, although they did not transcribe their religious dogmas or ceremonies, but there is good reason to believe that their style of writing was from right to left, after the old Greek fashion.

Permanent Roman camps invariably created Roman roads, and established commercial emporia. From the Dee and also from Holyhead in Anglesea, sixty miles from the Irish coast, where a lookout station was always maintained, regular communication must have existed with the opposite island. Ptolemy describes the towns and harbors, and we learn that some Irish marts were better known than British before Roman times. Let it be here stated that during the two centuries before our era, and the five centuries after its commencement, the coasts of the Mediterranean were alive with commerce; that Alexandria was a mighty mart, and that her streets

were crowded with Greeks, Jews, Romans, Spaniards, and Orientals, including Chinese. Let it be remembered that this great commerce crept along the coasts of Spain and Gaul and Britain, and that the more distant points would retain longest the earliest impressions. It was in the great cities that revolutions took place. The remote isles were little affected. Even so late as the Mahomedan conquest the city of Alexandria was a mighty place, but distracted by christian dissensions. Her thousands of buildings, and her commerce, and her libraries were world famous. That Græco-Egyptian trade, and letters and religion spread along the lines of her traffic is not strange. This traffic was only terminated by her utter fall under the dreadful sword of Omar. The dim traditions of Irish association with Egypt are not in any manner improbable, and Irish ports are directly linked with Alexandria now. The towns of Sicily, Italy, France, were Greek, and the Greek language extended far into France and remained there for many centuries. British lines of trade followed that pointed out of old, and Greek letters pursued the same route. The presence of Greek literature and philosophy in France, Britain and Ireland, was a thorn in the side of papal Rome, and her struggles to eradicate them assumed an air of ferocity after the separation of the Greek and Latin churches. Previous to that event, Greek literature in England and France and Ireland did not excite any hostility. It was rather encouraged than otherwise. Philosophy was also largely encouraged by Rome until it began to show itself as formative of an antagonizing system of modified, and finally of complete protestantism, and then it was persecuted ferociously, chiefly from the spirit of greed and thirst for power, wholly contrary to the command, "so shall it not be among you."

Not only from the points already named, but also from the Isle of Man—or Maen—where the Romans had mines, did commerce exist with Ireland. At that date the services of the church in Gaul were exclusively in Greek, as they were in Rome itself, even the preaching being in Greek. All the way from Smyrna in Asia Minor came Irenæus the disciple of Polycarp, the disciple of the Apostle John, to be bishop of Lyons in France, the heart of the Greek settlements. Thus the Greek-French church was only one step removed from the apostolic day, even if that much, which is not likely. The opposition to Roman surrender of Christian principle and primitive purity to heathen corruptions for the sake of superficial proselytism, was even then,—in the second century,—a source of emphatic protest on the part of the French churches. The British church and the Irish church were of the same mind as they were taught by the same Greek authorities.

More noise probably has been made about St. Patrick than any other real or fictitious person. There is no character in all history whose existence is more obscure. Long before the date assigned to him, A. D. 432, there was Christianity, and a christian hierarchy in Ireland as is abundantly admitted by Irish writers, and especially by catholic writers. Thus we find in Ware,—writers of Ireland, page 4,—“It is said King Cormac was converted to christianity seven years before his death, and that he was the third person in Ireland who believed in Christ before the mission of Patrick.” This prince is one of those characters whose date is claimed to be fixed. He was the son of “Art the Solitary,” “and began his reign over that kingdom, A. D. 254.” (Ware, page 4.) He lost one eye and retired to private life, it not being considered lucky for a prince to be blemished. The origin of put-

ting out eyes is here discernible. O'Halloran says: "Heber was one of the four bishops who preceded Palladius and Patrick." The Rev. Matthew Kelly, annotator of *Cambrensis Eversus* will only admit that "the christian faith may also have had disciples in Ireland" before the alleged labors of Patrick. At that date the Irish "were utterly unacquainted with Latin letters." (Ware, *Antiquities*, p. 25.) The much and often quoted testimony of Prosper, a contemporary, "that Palladius was ordained by Pope Celestinus as the first bishop of the Scots believing in Christ," that his mission was previous to that of Patrick, and that it was wholly unsuccessful, has solid authentic history in its support. The evasive argument by which Lynch in his *Cambrensis Eversus*, II, 667, endeavors to overthrow Prosper's testimony, is declared by Lanigan and Kelly to be unworthy of attention. Palladius is far more historical than Patrick. This missionary was sent over to endeavor "to extirpate the Pelagian heresy which then began to sprout" in the church in Ireland. That Pelagius held intimate relations with the Irish church of his day is clear from what St. Jerome says of him, that "he was made fat with Irish flummery." The Irish were then the only Scoti. Thus not only was there a church, but a church history, and church distinctive doctrine, and church division of sentiment long before Patrick. (Ware, *writers*, p. 306.) The Irish gave no credit to Palladius. He was expelled and died in Scotland. (Ware, p. 307.) Pelagius was a British ecclesiastic, and had made a great stir in the christian world: He was a learned man, well versed in Greek literature and philosophy, and his principles spread among the believers in Ireland, greatly to the confusion of Rome. All these statements in regard to Greek letters and Greek doctrines in Ireland clearly show that

the knowledge of Greek christianity in that island had gained widespread publicity, and this fact has percolated through contemporary annals, although most studiously concealed by catholic writers generally. They are not all equally uncandid. O'Hálloran fully concedes the presence of Greek christianity and culture. He says: "Among other charges brought by the early English adventurers against the Irish, it is said that they adhered more to the Greek than Roman customs. 'Ante Henrici 2di in Hiberniam adventum' says Revius, 'Romano more in Hibernia non vivebatur, sed magis Græco.' 'Before the arrival of Henry II. in Ireland, men did not live after the Roman manner, but rather after the Greek.' We have already seen that the early churches in Ireland adhered to the Greek and Asiatic customs. Our early professors were eminently skilled in these, and spread them not only over Ireland but Europe at large. At Cluan Mac Nois many inscriptions in Greek and Hebrew have been dug up. To this day at Lismore they have a tradition that many Greeks formerly studied there. The church of Trim in Meath is yet called the Greek church; some remains of ancient buildings bespeak a knowledge of Greek architecture. Dobda, a Greek bishop, accompanied our famous Virgilius into Germany, and in many of our churches divine service was formerly performed after the Greek manner as Ussher, Ward, Colgan, &c., affirm." (Intr. to Hist. and Antiq. Irēd. p. 167.) Again, "I strongly suspect that by Asiatic or African missionaries, or through them by Spanish ones, were our ancestors first instructed in christianity, because their connections by trade were greater with these than the Romans; and because they rigidly adhered to their customs, as to tonsure and the time of celebrating Easter." (O'Hálloran, Prelim. Dis. p. 39.) Again, "For more than five cent-

uries after the death of Patrick we scarce trace any vestiges of a correspondence between Rome and Ireland; and in this interval in many instances we find Rome looked upon several of our missionaries with a jealous eye." (Ibid. p. 40.)

We now come to the alleged mission of Patrick. Allowing for a moment that this personage was a real character of the fifth century, and not a character of the ninth century projected into the fifth during the great age of the manufacture of saints and relics,—A. D. 800–900, let us attempt to present a consistent history so far as our limits will permit. “On the arrival of Margonius or (as he is generally called) Patrick, he found an hierarchy established.” O’Halloran pre. dis. p. 39. That fact is well established; that is the fact that a hierarchy was established at the time Patrick is alleged to have reached Ireland, A. D. 432. Who ordained Patrick is unknown. Lanigan candidly admits that he was ordained “by an unknown bishop of an unknown place.” He preached, it is said, at Tara. Let it be remembered that in A. D. 254, King Cormac Ulfadah was a christian at least for seven years. He erected three colleges at Tara, before the date just given. One of these colleges was “to instruct youth in military discipline, another in history, and the third in the laws of his country.” Ware, writers, p. 4. There were therefore many books of some kind in A. D. 254 at Tara, and long before that. The date of the conversion of Ireland is placed at 432, and subsequently. Before that date the Irish were totally unacquainted with Latin letters. The literature at Tara was then not Roman, nor of Roman origin, nor allied to Roman directly or indirectly. Greek literature and philosophy, and Greek doctrines and ceremonies were there. There was also Irish there. Neither the Sencus

Mor, nor any other Irish Book of Laws bears the least trace of Roman sources, ecclesiastical or any other. Rome has not a shadow of a claim to them. On the other hand we find attributed to Patrick the only Roman trait that attaches itself at all to his proceedings. He not only discovered books at Tara, which did not belong to him, but he proceeded to destroy those books by hundreds in true Roman fashion. They were religious books. They were not law books, for they had nothing to say to him or his, and such books have not to this day. Other books were in his way. They are indeed called Druidical Books. King Cormac was a Christian; Christians flourished under his successors, and a regular hierarchy at Tara as well as elsewhere. Patrick could not establish a school at that Oxford of Ireland. He was not permitted. The ecclesiastics of the place firmly disputed and resisted his intrusion. Nor can we wonder. He began by burning books, certainly difficult to replace. "Certain it is," says O'Halloran, "that St. Patrick caused above two hundred volumes of Druidical writings to be burned, and there can be no doubt, but besides their theology, whatever in physics and astronomy that seemed repugnant to the new religion shared the same fate." *Intr. to Hist. and Ant.* p. 173. The editor of "The Battle of Gabhra" says, page 28, "It is said that he"—Patrick,—“on one occasion burned three hundred volumes of Druidical works.” Pepper in his *History of Ireland* states that the number destroyed was four hundred. He also says, "That all the volumes of our ancient history which St. Patrick, in the enthusiasm of his zeal for Christianity committed to the flames at Tara, A. D. 440, were the pure and unmixed essence of Truth there can be no question." There!

As the Druids never committed their religious mys-

teries to writing, as we are told by Cæsar, and as they performed their rites in secluded oak groves, and not in colleges, it is extremely improbable that there were four hundred, three hundred, or two hundred Druidical books in a college founded by a Christian king, and devoted to military, historical and legal instruction. This story then seems to have been founded on floating knowledge that some Romish intruder found a large number of books on philosophy in Ireland, that he destroyed them, and then that this vandalism was attributed to divine zeal in Patrick, and the books called druidical in order to hide the shame of the transaction. It is not a little remarkable, that as Patrick, according to Lynch (*Cambrenses Eversus*, p. 665, vol. ii.), converted hundreds of thousands of persons, and destroyed to O'Halloran and Pepper the books on science as well as religion, he must have done the same thing all through Ireland. Nevertheless the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth centuries were the precise period when philosophical learning flourished most splendidly in Ireland, and attracted the attention of the entire revived Roman Empire. It was precisely also that learning that was persecuted by Rome in the case of Erigena, and every other Irish philosopher of that long period. If it be true that Patrick did destroy this literature, and that his successors followed his example, and yet that such learning flourished greatly in Ireland, is it not clear that Ireland was not subjected to Rome, never recognized her, was directly opposed to her in many things, until two popes sold Ireland to Henry II. not for "shekels" nor for "pieces of silver" but for pence? Is it not clear that this alleged destruction of books by Patrick was his own individual mischief if it ever happened at all? The story seems to be a concretion of a vague, misty rumor of much more recent

occurrences, and projected, like much of Patrick's biography, into the fifth century.

If all this learning was destroyed have we not an explanation of the "wildness" of the primitive Irish? Did England do any of that mischief? This is one knot in the tangle of Irish history. According to another history Patrick observed a swineherd at Tara whose head was tonsured according to the Egyptian fashion, that is shaven on the front part of the head from ear to ear, leaving the rest of the hair long and flowing. This poor swineherd has received the credit not only for inventing this tonsure, which millions in his day practised, but for diffusing the same custom among the Irish. It was one of the great subjects of dispute between the united church of England and Ireland of that time, and the Romish intruders, at the Council of Whitby, A. D. 662. The Irish advocates derived their customs through their ancestors, from the apostle John. See Ware, *Antiq.* p. 239. This question of tonsure was a serious matter. That the other tonsure (this of the swineherd) was used in St. Patrick's lifetime is manifest from a canon of a synod held there by him, Auxilius, and Iserninus, mentioned in a book of canons M.S. in St. Benet's College, Cambridge, from whence Ware has published them. "If any clergyman (says the canon), from the Doorkeeper to the Priest shall appear in public without a tunic, and not cover the nakedness and turpitude of his belly, or who shall not wear his hair shorn after the Roman fashion, and if his wife does not wear a veil when she goes abroad, let such be separated from the church." This canon is an instance of literature attributed to the fifth century in Ireland, and assuredly it speaks of customs not Roman. The tonsure and the marriage custom were of Græco-Egyptian origin beyond all question. Easter

was another source of contention. "The Easter I keep," said Colman at Whitby, "I received from my elders who sent me bishop hither; the which all our fathers, men beloved of God, are known to have kept after the same manner; and that the same may not seem to any contemptible or worthy to be rejected, it is the same which St. John the Evangelist and the churches over which he presided observed." That is,—these believers had been taught from Smyrna and were in accord with Alexandria. "Sedulius, a Scott of Ireland, an eminent Divine, orator and poet, flourished about the year of Christ, 490." Ware, *writers*, p. 7. "He was a man well versed in the knowledge of the Scriptures, of great accomplishments in human learning, and had an excellent taste both in prose and verse." He was such a man as only an Irish-Greek school could produce at that time. Rome could not possibly educate a scholar of those attainments in 490. She had not the spirit to do so. And where did he travel? "For the love of learning he left Scotia, traveled into France, and from thence into Italy and Asia (that is Asia Minor), at length departing from the borders of Achaia he came to be in high esteem in the city of Rome on account of his wonderful learning." His Greek knowledge was a wonder. Rome had lost hers by that time.

But it is not the Irish only who thus differ from Rome. At the beginning of the sixth century the Picts,—(that is Peichta,—fighting men),—came across the strait and settled in Scotland permanently. About 565 Columba very naturally went after them to teach them. Hence at Whitby a century later we find Wilfried the Romish advocate complaining that the Picts, Scots and Britons celebrate Easter after a manner condemned by Rome, and defended that manner on the authority of the Evan-

gelist John. The authority of Patrick or of any other Roman alleged emissary is never once alluded to by any member of the Scottish, Pictish or British nation, and that only about 150 years after Patrick's death, and he has been allowed a life of 102 years. It is idle for any person now to argue that the Roman and the Irish cycles of Easter were the same. The chief disputants representing both in 661 declared that they were not.

There is a severe statement to the effect that Augustine, archbishop of Canterbury, incited the King of Kent to destroy the British bishops because they would not conform to Roman customs; and that Augustine also incited Egfrid, King of Northumberland, to invade the Irish territories because the church of Ireland would not conform to Rome.

These statements ought to be either sustained or disproved. The authorities for either purpose are not at hand.

A. D. 630, the Roman clergy addressed a letter to five Irish bishops "Most holy Tomian, Columban, Cronan, Dinan, and Baithan" on the subject of the paschal festival. This letter also says, "This also we have learned that the poison of the Pelagian heresy is reviving again among you." These were not Roman bishops or they would have been dealt with differently.

This trouble was the subject of continued anxiety. The letter says the error was continually condemned and buried under perpetual anathema. If the report to Rome was false, as some catholics aver, in order to break the force of the fact that a heresy existed in Ireland long before Patrick, then many other falsehoods may have circulated as to the Irish church and its origin. But the letter to the five bishops is a living fact never disputed. The Irish were also reported to be Quartodecimans, as

well as Pelagians. But these accusations of heresy are very inconvenient to the claim of Patrick's mission. But from the time of the mission or alleged mission of this much noised personage an unbroken succession of disagreements in doctrine, in discipline, in authority and in customs is the exclusive history of the relations between Irish and Roman ecclesiastics whenever they encountered each other. O'Halloran is fully justified in declaring that for five centuries after Patrick there was exceedingly little connection between Ireland and Rome. It was in these centuries that the famous Greek school in Ireland grew to its splendid proportions, and was enabled to command the foremost place in Europe through Erigena and his successors under Charlemagne and his sons.

The annotator to Cambrensis Eversus also admits that "the cases in which Irish missionaries derived their jurisdiction directly from the pope are not very numerous." p. 725, vol. ii. Dr. Talbot, catholic archbishop of Dublin, settles the probability of this question. He says "St. Patrick was neither archbishop, primate, nor metropolitan, that his pall is chimerical, made of goat's wool, and flies through the air sewn to the reliques of Stephen the protomartyr." And these things are quite as fully asserted for Patrick as the rest of his supposed biography. The Irish church rejected Palladius, and the Roman curia has desperately struggled to entangle Irish history for her own purposes ever since. Another knot in the tangle.

The literature of Ireland then during the first six centuries of our era has not been shewn to have been in any manner produced by Roman scholars, introduced from Roman sources, inspired by Roman thought, or governed by Roman principles. It was chiefly Christian and of Græco-Egyptian origin. The only portion of the

history smacking of Rome is the crime of destroying Irish scientific literature attributed to Patrick.

At length the Irish literary Elijah,—John Scotus Erigena, suddenly presents his grand presence before men. He is a Greek scholar trained in much of the philosophy of Greece. Had he known more his training in some continental school might be suspected. But he does not know just that which he would be most likely to know if educated in such a place. He was brought up in an island where Greek knowledge was cultivated, but the whole circle of Greek literature was not possessed,—thanks perhaps to Mr. Patrick and his book-burning. The church in Trim is not a myth, and the school at Lismore is not a fable. In Ussher's day the Greek church at Trim was still shown. Hence the emigration of Irish scholars, acquainted with the liberal sciences and Greek language and philosophy becomes still significant. Hence the still further fact attested by Bede, that English and other youths repaired in numbers to Irish schools in the seventh century. We are thus at once brought again in contact with the teachers whom popes and prelates had in vain endeavored to seduce from the faith of John the Evangelist. Hence Stillingfleet and Ledwich and many other scholars are amply sustained in their declaration that the Irish church ritual of that date differed from the Roman and agreed with the Greek. That disagreement continued down to the eleventh century; and we have to thank Gillibert, the bishop of Limerick and papal representative, for proving the fact to us in his Epistle to the Irish prelates in 1090, and in his efforts to abolish the Irish office and substitute the Roman. Here the parallelism between the experiences of Ireland and Bohemia is remarkable;—see section on Sassawa. The Irish ritual corresponded with that of Asia Minor and France

and Britain in the early ages, and as usual the most distant province retained first impressions longest, as being most removed from the revolutions of the central world. But there was some difference between the Southern and the Northern provinces on that subject.

The exodus of the Irish scholars from Ireland during the seventh and following centuries is accounted for by the hostility provoked in some quarter between the English and Irish. In 648 Egfrid King of Northumberland sent an army under Bert into Ireland. This band cruelly plundered the country and spared neither church nor monastery. This was a new experience. Hitherto the two churches had been most friendly, and had combated Rome side by side. But on a sudden churches and monasteries, and all their contents are savagely destroyed. Clearly a new influence hostile to the Irish, their church and their independence had started up in England. It began from the moment that Romish intolerance was introduced. It had not existed previously. Up to that date the church buildings in Ireland were of wood. The growing presence of two antagonistic churches in Ireland itself, as in Bohemia, tended to create further dissension and bloodshed. The southern colonies had received some Romish ecclesiastics, and had conformed to their influence. The northern and the greater part of the inland natives still conformed to their ancient customs. From this date churches become the chief object of attack. Disputes multiply mysteriously. Chieftains are perpetually at war and the exciting cause is not observable. The blame is laid on the chiefs and on the people. It might be wisely sought for not a thousand miles from the priests. The catalogue of slaughterings and burnings, of battles and ferocities is sickening. With the next century came the Danes, and then the treble afflic-

tion of civil dissension, religious hostility and foreign invasion filled the miserable island with woe and devastation.

About the year 604 Lawrence of Canterbury, successor to Augustine, and two other prelates wrote to the bishops and abbots of Ireland: "When the apostolic see sent us to these western parts to preach to pagan nations, and we came into this island of Britain, we greatly esteemed the piety of the Britons and the Irish before we knew them, believing they proceeded according to the custom of the catholic church; but we have been informed that the Scots do not differ in religious sentiments from the Britons, for bishop Dagan coming to us not only refused to eat with us, but even to take any repast in the same house." Aldhelm makes a still worse complaint. He says, "The British priests puffed up with a conceit of their own purity do exceedingly abhor communion with us, insomuch that they neither will join in prayers with us in the church, nor in communion, nor will they enter to society with us at table; the fragments we leave after refection they will not touch but throw to dogs. The cups also out of which we have drunk they will not use until they have cleansed them with sand and ashes. They refuse all civil salutations, and will not give us the kiss of holy brotherhood. Moreover, if any of us go to take an abode among them, they will not condescend to admit us, until we are compelled to spend forty days in penance." Perhaps twenty days with sweet spices, and twenty more with oil of myrrh to make them fit for respectable company. (See Book of Esther.) The extent to which this spirit extended among the original Irish may be learned from their enemy, Gillibert, papal envoy. In his letter to the bishops before mentioned he says that his epistle was "to the end that those different and

SCHISMATICAL orders by which almost all Ireland was deluded might give place to one Catholic and Roman office." Here then we have Roman agents endeavoring to make their way among the Irish, and succeeding partly in the south, and subsequently, after Danish days, in the west and east also. We have the great body of the people "deluded" with an idea that they were far more apostolic than the Roman clergy, and refusing even to eat with them. Can any one believe that proud prelates did not fiercely resent this contempt, and vent their wrath on the native Irish, and stir up feuds for their destruction? Does any one believe that this Irish contempt for those whom they called heretics, and denounced as heretics to the pope himself in a subsequent age, did not beget an unrelenting hostility on the part of Rome? Can any one believe that as Irish chiefs and people became imbued with Roman feelings they did not resent this pride on the part of the Irish independents, the Græco-Irish, who still refused to consort with them? Can any one believe that as this odium theologicum spread it did not incite to the destruction of churches, and the massacre of priests, the burning of schools, and the annihilation of books? All these things happened precisely in the age when this religious antagonism was developing, and before the English and Irish catholics finally combined to destroy the primitive Irish all through the island. That religious antagonism was in full and fierce vigor up to the conquest by the Normans, and is significantly alluded to in the correspondence between Henry II. and the popes who sold Ireland to him.

That antagonism is openly asserted in the letter of the Irish to the pope after their island had been mortgaged by priests who did not own it, just as Sicily was afterward mortgaged to Henry III. and his son, and who were in

receipt of some of the proceeds. Repeatedly the Irish denounced their English Norman persecutors as heretics two hundred years before the reformation; and their pride to Lawrence and Aldhelm is repaid in most insulting contempt by the pope who describes them as sunk in filth. That point will be fully exhibited in the pages to come.

The quarrelsome temper of Irishmen and their fickleness aggravated the case of their dreadful divisions in the eighth, ninth, tenth and following centuries. The instigations of an angry, a fanatical, and a condemned priesthood complete the full measure of the elements that combined to destroy the ancient Irish, and to slander them at the same time. According to MacGeoghegan "with the year 797 began the decay of the early splendor of the Irish church" and the "end of her brilliant days." This troubled era was for ever signalized by the spread of the Culdee system, and the erection of the Round Towers. They were at once receptacles for church property, religious monuments, and houses of refuge. They were built on the ancient sacred ground, and were dedicated to the adoration of the one Deity. Culdees, Cultores Dei, diffused their simplicity and primitive independence far and wide, and were extended through Scotland, while not unknown in England. Ordinary churches being of wood were constantly destroyed. But the tower was beyond the reach of sudden assailants wholly unprovided with heavy means of offense. These beautiful towers were not Roman; those who built them owned and yielded no subjection to Rome. The Culdees were gradually absorbed towards their last days by the gift of an abbey or a bishopric to survivors of their ancient glories. It was during the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries that the ancient literature of Ireland was

destroyed. This irreparable mischief must be divided between native and foreign plunderers.

Before this devastation began, and before the two church parties were excited against each other, the country was united, at least in church principles, and fairly prosperous. The early church was in comparative "splendor." The picture drawn by Bede of the sister church and of her schools is most pleasing. He says, that in the middle of the seventh century numbers both of the nobles and middle ranks in England repaired to Ireland to study or lead a retired life. "All these the Scots most willingly received, and maintained at their own charge, supplying them also with books, and being their teachers without fee or reward." The island was filled with literati who were at once learned and poor; and they emigrated, when church dissensions began, to all the countries of Europe, teaching and establishing religious houses. This picture is that of a generally peaceable community not disturbed by commotions to any unusual degree, or beyond what any society may expect. After that date the Irish acquired the reputation attributed to them by catholic historians, of being most unruly and quarrelsome. They were "ardent in everything whether for good or for evil." "In omnes affectus vehementissimi." One fruitful cause of discord is described by Ware: "When that great and celebrated controversy so often before mentioned, concerning the time for celebrating Easter, had distracted and divided the churches of Britain and Ireland into two factions, the one side embracing the Roman rite, and the other as obstinately adhering to the traditions of their ancestors, Cumian was then in Ireland, and for a time continued neuter in the dispute until he had thoroughly studied the nature and consequence of the controversy. He saw that many of the South

parts of Ireland had embraced the admonitions of the Apostolic see, and reformed their time of celebrating Easter to the Roman rite; while the rest of the kingdom strictly adhered to the ancient customs and traditions. For, about the year 630 Pope Honorius the first had exhorted the Irish by letter "To reflect how few they were in number compared to the rest of the world, and that they who were placed in the extreme bounds of the earth should not consider themselves as wiser than all the ancient or modern churches of Christ; and that they should not presume to celebrate different Easter from the rest of the churches, contrary to the Paschal calculations, and synodal decrees of the whole world." Then also (as Bede writes in another place), "The nations of the Scots who inhabited the South parts of the island of Ireland had lately been taught by the admonitions of the prelate of the Apostolic see to observe Easter according to canonical rite. But the Northern province of the Scots, and all the nation of the Picts, notwithstanding the pope's admonitions, did not forbear to observe Easter from the 14th moon to the 20th, according to their usual customs." (Ware, *Writers of Ireland*, p. 37.) So dangerous was the controversy that Cumian meditated for a full year before deciding which side to take. When at last he went over to Rome, the monks of Hy—Iona—"reproached him with great sharpness, as a deserter of the traditions of his ancestors, and a heretic." (p. 38.) Cumian replied asking for arguments, and not for bad names. "If you have no such reasons to offer," he says, "be silent and do not call us heretics." When the dangerous word "heretic" was bandied about in those ages it meant fierce controversy first, and then it meant persecution, and bloodshed and murder. Up to the days of

the Reformation these two parties were arrayed against each other in Ireland.

Such was the state of affairs when the Danes came. These plunderers were from all parts of Scandinavia; Swedes, Norwegians, Danes and Holsteiners. They are also called Ostmen, and during the course of their career in Ireland they undertook to establish their religion in the island. Certain it is that they set up abbots as well as military rulers, and they introduced the Benedictine rule. Here was a fresh source of trouble for the ancient church of Ireland; and perhaps we may discover an additional reason for the ferocity exhibited by these patrons of the Benedictines against the Græco-Irish churches, monasteries and books. The Irish were "heretics"; at least the great majority of them were such. Their schools, their books, and their Easter, their marriages and their baptism, their rejection of auricular confession, and their married priesthood were all heretical—dreadfully heretical. They also in turn denounced their opponents as heretics, and continued to do so for centuries after this time. Their philosophy was Greek; and their scholars were in France and Germany. Some of the most distinguished, like Clement, had been known as opponents of Benedictine doctrine. This condition of things existed, and must have formed no small ingredient in the sum of the motives that spread devastation through the churches in Ireland. Now let us see what was done in the destruction of Irish literature by all these causes; and first of the native feuds. The catalogue is horrible. But in order to be as accurate as we can, let us transcribe the list contained in Primate Colton's *Visitation* in 1397, p. 93, "Chronologically extracted from the Irish annals."

A. D. 605. "Brandubh King of Leinster was slain by

Saran Saebdergh, airchineach of Senboithe-sine (Templeshambo) and his own tribe."

A. D. 756. "Eghtegern, bishop, was killed by a priest at St. Bridget's altar in Kildare (between the screen and the altar—Four Masters) as he was celebrating mass, which is the reason that since that time a priest is prohibited to celebrate mass in Kildare in the presence of a bishop.

A. D. 759. "A battle was fought between the families (i. e., the religious communities) of Clonmacnois and Birr in Moin-Coisse-Blae."

A. D. 763. "A battle was fought at Argamoyn between the families of Clonmacnois and Darrow, where Dermot Duff, son of Donnell, was killed, and Deglac, son of Dabliiss, and two hundred men of the family of Durrow. Breasal, son of Murcha, was victor with the family of Clonmacnois."

A. D. 782. "A battle was fought in Terna Mor between the abbot and steward, i. e., Cathal and Tinnachtach."

A. D. 788. "A contention took place in Armagh wherein a man was murdered in the entrance of the oratory. The burning of Clonfert-Mongain by Aengus, son of Mugron, wherein Aodh, son of Tomaltach, perished, and the oratory was burned."

A. D. 806. "A battle was fought between the family of Cork and the family of Clonfert Brendan, by which slaughters multitudes of ecclesiastical and eminent men of the family of Cork fell."

A. D. 808. "Dunchu, abbot of Tealach-lias, was slain in the place of patrick's shrine in the house of the abbot of Tealach-lias.

A. D. 814. "The church of Cluan-creamha (Clon-

crief) plundered and manslaughter committed within the church by the men of Breifne and Sil Cathail."

A. D. 816. "A battle was fought by Cathal, son of Dunlang, and the family of Tigh Munna (Taghmon) against the family of Ferns, in which 400 were slain. Maelduin, son of Cennfaeladh, abbot of Raphoe, of the family of Columbkille, was murdered. The family of Columbkille went to Tara to curse Hugh."

A. D. 817. "The erenagh of Kilmore-ener was violated and Dubindrecht, the prior, was wounded at the same time by the Lagenians."

A. D. 832. "The family of Kildare were routed within their church by Ceallach, son of Bran, in which many were slain, on the feast of St. John in Autumn. The family of Clonmacnois were slaughtered, and the termon burned to the very door of the church by Felimy, King of Cashel. Likewise the family of Darrow even to the door of their church."

A. D. 834. "Clonmacnois was profaned by Cathal, son of Ailell, lord of Hy Many, against the prior Flann the son of Flaithbeartach, of the Ui Forga of Munster, whom he cast into the Shannon and killed."

A. D. 835. "The oratory of Kildare taken upon Forannan of Armagh, and all the congregation of Patrick likewise, by Felimy, King of Cashel, by battle and arms; and the clergy were taken by him with their submission." "The church of Glendalough was burned, and the church of Kildare ransacked by the Danes. The Danes, upon the nativity of our Lord, in the night, entered the church of Clonmore Moyeog, and there used many cruelties, killing many of the clergy, and took many of them captives."

A. D. 850. "Coireall, son of Ruark, King of Loch Uaithne, was treacherously murdered before the door of

the oratory of Tighernach at Clones by the Connells of Farney."

A. D. 889. "Engan, son of Ceanfaeladh, abbot of Imleach Inbhar, was murdered."

A. D. 903. "Kells was forcibly entered by Flann, son Maolsechnall, upon Donnchadh, his own son, and many were slain about the oratory."

A. D. 938. "An army was led by Donnchadh to Finnabhar-abha (Fennor), which he spoiled; and he killed the priest in the midst of the church, and others with him."

A. D. 1006. "Matadan, son of Donnel, King of Uladh, was slain in the church of St. Bridget, in the midst of Dunlethglas."

A. D. 1010. "Flaithbertah O'Ceithmann, successor of Tighernach (i. e., abbot of Clones), chief bishop and anchorite, was killed by the men of Breifne in his own town."

A. D. 1012. "Sitric MacAulgh of Dublin, irreverently and without respect, made havoc of all the Kings in the church of Kells, and killed many within the walls of the said church."

A. D. 1013. "Murtagh O'Curry Calma took Mulloyepunce of Ferkall from out of the church of Darrow, and killed him at Moylena (or Kilbride), adjoining to Darrow."

A. D. 1031. "Ardraccon was burned by the Danes of Dublin; 200 men perished in the stone church and 200 were made captives. An army was led by Mac Eochaidh into Ineagh and burned Kill-Cumbair (Cumber), with its oratory; killed four of the clergy and carried away thirty captives."

A. D. 1045. "The Airchinneach of Leighlin was killed in the church door."

A. D. 1055. The battle of Martarthai was fought by

Durdabhe, successor of Patrick, against Loingseach O'Melaghlin's son, the successor of Finian and Columbkille, where many were slain."

A. D. 1060. "The men of Ely O'Karroll and O'Forga came to plunder Clonmacnois, and took certain captives from the place called Cross-na-screaptra, and killed two there, a layman and ecclesiastic; whereupon the clergy of Clonmacnois incited the men of Delvin Beathra, with their King Hugh O'Rourk, in their pursuit, who gave them an overthrow, and quite discomfited them and slew the prince of O'Forga, who before killed the ecclesiastic, and also brought their captives next day back again to the place whence they were so conveyed."

A. D. 1065. "Donnchadh O'Mahoun, King of Uladh, was killed by Ubdians themselves in the stone church of Bangor."

A. D. 1069. "Murrough, son of Connor O'Melaghlin, prince of Meath, did so overset the family of Mulkieran-Mac-Con-Na-Mocht in Isell-Kieran and the poor of that house, that the steward of the family was slain by them, for which cause Moyvoura was granted to the poor."

A. D. 1075. "Murrough O'Melaghlin, King of Meath, was killed in the steeple of Kells, and afterwards Awley was killed immediately by Melaghlin O'Melaghlin, through the miracles of St. Columb, who is patron of the place."

A. D. 1084 (recte 1101). "A great depredation made by the people of Iveagh in Ulidia upon the family of Armagh, and twenty-four of the church people were slain."

A. D. 1106. "The family of Kilkenny gave an overthrow to the family of Leighlin."

A. D. 1115. "The stone church of Ardbraccan full of

people was burned by the men of Munster, and many more churches in Moy Bregh."

A. D. 1117. "Moalbrigid, son of Ronan, abbot of Kells, and many of the people of Kells with him were slain by Hugh O'Rourk and the Ui Briuin on the night of Crum duff Sunday (i.e., the Sunday next before the 1st of August)."

A. D. 1121. "Gilla Espoig Eoghan O'Hennerly was slain by his own kinsmen in the midst of the cemetery of Banagher."

A. D. 1123. "A secret assault made upon the successor of Aibhe, and a house taken in Emly where seven of their men were slain through the miracle of St. Aibhe; and there was burned the bell."

A. D. 1124. "Ardgar, son of Hugh, heir apparent to the throne of Aileach, was killed by the family of Derry in defense of the church of Columbkille."

A. D. 1127. "Cearbhall, the son of MacFaelam, and the Ui Faelam about him, fell by the Ui Failghe within Kildare defending the successorship of Bridget."

A. D. 1128. "A disgraceful act, that deserved the curse of all Ireland, both temporal and spiritual, the like of which was never witnessed in Ireland was committed by Tiernan O'Rourk and the O'Briuius. The successor of Patrick with his company was robbed, and some of them killed, and one of his own clergy among them. An army was led by Connor O'Loughlin and they turned upon their left hand to Fírbregh and left some of their men there, and committed wickedness before God and man, namely, by the burning of Trim, with the churches, and many were made martyrs therein."

A. D. 1129. "Auliff O'Driscoll chief of Corca laeighde was slain at the door of the church of Birr."

A. D. 1212. "Donnell O'Devine was slain by the sons

of MacLoughlin in the doorway of the abbey church of Derry."

A. D. 1213. O'Kane and the men of Firnacruad came to Derry to take the house of the son of MacLoughlin. The great prior of the abbey church of Derry who interposed to make peace between them was killed. God and St. Columbkille wrought a miracle on this occasion; for Mahon Magaithne, the person who had gathered and mustered the army was killed in the doorway of the church of Duvregles in revenge of Columbkille."

A. D. 1261. "Sixteen of the most distinguished of clergy of Tyrone were slain at Derry by Connor O'Neil and the Cinel Owen."

A. D. 1496. "Donnell Bearnach Magauran, chief of Teallach-Euchdach (Tullyhaw) was treacherously slain before the altar of the church of Templeport, by Teige, son of Hugh, son of Owen Magawian, and the marks of the blows aimed at him are still visible in the corners of the altar."

A. D. 1508. "Redmond Oge MacMahon was slain at Domhnach-maighe-da-Chlavine (Dough in Monaghan) on St. Patrick's festival by Philip the son of Edmund Maguire. The act was perpetrated thus: Philip went to the town to hear mass in honor of St. Patrick, and while they were at mass within the church, Redmond Oge came around the church with a large party, and set fire to the four corners of the building. When Maguire heard of this he said he would never suffer the church of St. Patrick to be burned; and exciting his people to courage, Philip with his kinsmen came out in the name of God and St. Patrick. A conflict ensued in which Redmond was thrown from his horse and afterwards slain, together with his foster brother; and prisoners were also taken there. And the names of God and St. Patrick were mag-

nified by this occurrence." The learned annotator adds: "These cases running through a long series of years belong to one class of outrage." "Even the clergy seem to have shared in the factious spirit of the nation, and to have indulged occasionally in sectional encounters among themselves." "Still, however, the various religious communities were occasionally found in arms, and the great diversity of rules tended to foment the spirit of jealousy and antagonism." "It was no uncommon thing for an Irish chieftain to be styled 'The Master of Churches' or for the adventurous population of one province to plunder the churches of another."

Let us now see what the Danes accomplished in the same direction and during a portion of the same time.

In the annotations to "Macaria Excidium" there are found important additions to the above list of outrages.

"The Delcassians of Thonond plundered and laid waste the monastery of Clonmacnois in 1111, at, it is said, the instigation of Murtogh O'Brien; and they or some other party of Mononians pillaged it again in 1115." Again in 1134 "I find it stated," says Lanigan, "that in the same year the Cathedral of Tuam was stormed and forcibly entered by the Delcassians, and that Derry, the churches of Rathliurg, Raphoe, Clonard, part of Coug and Eithne, Roscommon, Rossmore, and several other principal churches were burned and plundered by the Mononians, headed by their King, Conor O'Brien. These devastations must have been part of those committed by the great army composed of Irish and Danes which he and other princes led in that year against Lethcuinn, or the northern half of Ireland." "Kildare was plundered by Dermot O'Brien and others in 1136; and in the same year Clonard was pillaged and destroyed by the people of Breffny and Fermanagh. Even Cormac

MacCarthy is said to have burned a place called Maighe Deiscert, both houses and churches." As the O'Briens seem to have been allies of the Danes all these mischiefs may be attributed to the same alliance.

The record of destructions by the Danes is terrible. "There was an astonishing and awfully great oppression over all Erin, throughout its breadth by powerful azure Gentiles, and by fierce hard hearted Danars." War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, p. 2.

A. D. 812. Foreigners first began devastation of Erinn. An hundred and twenty ships came; the country was plundered and devastated and Inis Labraiman and Daerinis were burned.

A. D. 821-23. Came another fleet, six districts ravaged.

A. D. 824-5. Another fleet. Sixteen districts despoiled "and the greater part of the churches of Erinn," p. 9.

A. D. 834. Another fleet. Several districts wasted.

A. D. 834. There came after that a great royal fleet into the north of Erinn with Turgeis who assumed the sovereignty of the foreigners of Erinn; and the north of Erinn was plundered by them, and they spread themselves over Leth Cuinn. Some districts plundered several times within the same month. Turgeis seized Abbaies; and drove out the abbots.

A. D. 838-45. "There came a fleet upon Loch Rae, and from thence plundered Midhe and Connacht; and Cluan Mac Nois was plundered by him, and Cluan Ferta of Brennan, and Lothra, and Tir-da-glas, and Inis Celtra, and all the churches of Derg Dheerc in like manner; and the place where Ota, the wife of Turgeis, used to give her audience was upon the Altar of Cluan Mac Nois."

"After this came three score and five ships and landed

at Dubhlinn of Athcliath, and Laghin was plundered to the sea by them." "After this there came great sea coast floods of foreigners into Erin, so that there was not a point thereof without a fleet." Many places plundered. Patrick's shrine in Armagh broken.

A. D. 845. Turgeis taken and drowned. "Much indeed of evil and distress did they receive, and much was received from them in those years which is not recorded at all." Other fleets appeared in the Boyne, and the Liffey. These plundered all before them, "both country and churches." The southern part of the island was also devastated and churches and shrines destroyed. Kildare and many other towns in the East were plundered by the fleet at Dublin.

A. D. 851. "There came after this Black-gentile Danars, and they spread themselves over Erin, and they endeavored to drive the Fair-gentiles out."

A. D. 847. Several battles. Many Danes killed.

A. D. 853. "A prodigious fleet" arrived. All the Nobles of the Desi, and a son of the King of Cashel were killed, and garrisons slaughtered.

A. D. 866. More plunder and fighting, twelve hundred Danes being killed in one spot. Many districts ravaged by them this year.

From this period there was a cessation of invasion until A. D. 916. "It was then that Erin became again filled with the fleets of foreigners."

"After this came the prodigious royal fleet of the children of Imhar, and the greater part of Erin was plundered by them." Many towns were destroyed including Lismore. The invaders then went to Scotland.

"Afterwards came innumerable hordes under Ragnall, grandson of Imar, and the Earl Otter." They divided into three parties. "The whole of Munster was ravaged

by them, so that there was not a house or hearth from Lin southward."

A. D. 916. Was fought the great battle in which we find the abbot of Glenn Uisen, and archbishop of Laighin, and six hundred with him, and fifty Kings killed. "Cell Dara was then plundered by them, and the greater part of the churches of Erinn." The battle was probably fought in defense of Kildare.

The years 919, 921, witnessed still greater swarms. The north of Erinn was plundered by Gothrin, but a great number of the Danes were killed, very few being able to escape.

A. D. 922. The chief part of Mumhain was ravaged, both churches and chieftainries.

"There came after that a fleet on Lough Dergderc, and they plundered Inis Celtra, and they drowned its shrines, and its relics and its books." Many other districts were similarly wasted.

In Munster the Danes committed similar excesses. "The whole of Mumhain became filled with innumerable floods, and countless sea vomitings of ships, and boats and fleets, so that there was not a harbor, nor a landing port, nor a Dun, nor a fortress, nor a fastness, in all Mumhain without fleets of Danes and pirates." "The entire of Mumhain, without distinction, was plundered by them on all sides and devastated. And they spread themselves over Mumhain; and they built Duns, and fortresses, and landing ports over all Erinn, so that there was no place in Erinn without numerous fleets of Danes and pirates; so that they made spoil land, and sword land, and conquered land of her throughout her breadth and generally: and they ravaged her chieftainries, and her privileged churches, and her sanctuaries, and they rent her shrines and her reliquaries, and her books. They demolished

her beautiful ornamented temples, for neither veneration nor honor nor mercy for Termon; nor protection for church or for sanctuary, for God or for man, was felt by this furious, ferocious, pagan, ruthless, wrathful people." The years 949, 956, 973, 978, 980, were all filled with woe from Danish incursions. "Such was the oppressiveness of the tribute and rent of the foreigners over all Erinn at large and generally that there was a King from them over every territory, and a chief over every chieftainry, and an abbot over every church, and a soldier in every house, so that none of the men of Erinn had power to give even the milk of his cow, nor as much as the clutch of eggs of one hen in succour or in kindness to an aged man or to a friend, but was forced to preserve them for the foreign steward or bailiff or soldier." This picture is somewhat poetical; but the reality was harsh enough.

McGeoghegan's account is marked by less detail but more sobriety. He says: "On the news of the arrival of Turgesius, all the Normans who had been dispersed in small bodies throughout the kingdom united under his standard and appointed him their general. This tyrant seeing himself commander-in-chief of all the Normans in Ireland, began by issuing his commands in every quarter; he sent his leaders to harass and pillage the inhabitants, with orders to spare neither age nor sex. At that time there were no strongholds or fortified towns in Ireland; the Norman general knowing the necessity of having places to retreat into, which he might withdraw, in case of need, and secure the booty, remedied the want of them by stationing his fleet, which consisted of several small vessels with sails and oars, in the different lakes in the country. One part he stationed in Lake Neagh, another in Lake Rea, in the Shannon, and sent the rest to Lough-miagh. * * The tyrant's orders were but too faithfully

executed by those inhuman monsters; heaps of slain were to be seen on every side, and the churches and monasteries pillaged and burned. The church of Armagh was plundered three times in one month, the abbot made prisoner and the university, which until that time had been so celebrated, and in which there were sometimes seven thousand students, was completely destroyed, and the scholars assassinated or put to flight with their teachers."

In Ware, *Antiqu. of Ireland*, p. 241, the following notice is found: "Among these schools as that of Armagh was the most ancient so it was the most eminent." * * "The names also of some of the Readers and Prelectors thereof, even in the times of the Danish tyranny in Ireland, are yet extant which show the remains of its ancient splendor; and if we may venture to give credit to Florence Carty, who reports it out of some manuscript in Oxford to which I am a stranger, the roll of the students of the university of Armagh at one and the same time formerly exceeded seven thousand. But not to insist upon this; the author of the *Annals of Ulster* under the year 1020, which by our manner of accounting answers to 1021, affirms "That the whole city of Armagh was then destroyed by fire; and that among other particulars there mentioned, the ancient chair of the Masters, the library, and all the books which the students had in their private apartments, perished in the flames." These two narratives seem to refer to the same calamity, and the date has become mixed up with other transactions. It was probably at Armagh that the public school existed in the seventh century, mentioned by Bede. That was a Græco-Irish academy and was the alma mater of Clement, and Scotus Erigena, and other scholars of the eighth and ninth centuries. The disasters to the schools

from the Danes at once explain the migrations of Irish scholars to the continent of Europe in those ages, and also explain the presence of such a number of bishops from Ireland that their presence was complained of and made the subject of synodal action on several occasions to be noticed. There were other schools at Clonard, Lismore, Ross, Clonfert, Bangor, and elsewhere. The Greek customs and the Greek literature fully account for the great number of bishops,—the pastor of every church being an episcopos,—and also for the sudden diffusion of Greek learning through Europe from Ireland, the amazement of the imperial court, at a time when there was hardly a priest south of the Humber who could read his breviary, much less read Greek. The enthusiasm created in Rome by the presence of Sedulius, “a Scottish priest,” at the close of the fifth century, and his “great accomplishments in human learning,”—literæ humanories,—has been already noticed. The town of Trim in Meath, had been a seat of learning, and contained many churches. It was a seat of Greek culture, and the Greek church of Trim was pointed out in Ussher’s days. When O’Halloran wrote the Greek traditions of Trim still survived. They have not died out yet. The destruction of this place by Connor O’Laughlin, “Wickedness before God and man,” “The burning of Trim with the churches” in 1128, “An act that deserves the curse of all Ireland,” may be here properly recalled. That event was the final scene wherein Greek culture in Ireland died. “Many were made martyrs therein.” The phrase is both peculiar and significant. It was written by a northern annalist who inherited the old northern independence of the “heresies” of the Roman ecclesiastics from the south. The collisions between the united Scottish, Pictish, and British church and the Roman church introduced by

Augustine, have been noticed. Let us follow that line a little further until we again reach the point already gained, by this second route.

In 670, Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, decreed that those who had been consecrated by Irish or British bishops should be confirmed anew by a Roman one. The fifth Canon of the Council of Cealc-hythe,—in 816, ordains “that none of Irish extraction be permitted to usurp to himself the sacred ministry in any diocese, nor let it be allowed to such an one to touch anything which belongs to those of the holy order, nor to receive anything from them in baptism, or in the celebration of mass, or that they administer the Eucharist to the people, because we are not certain how, or by whom they were ordained. We know how it is enjoined in the Canons, that no bishop or presbyter invade the parish of another without the bishop’s consent, so much the rather we should refuse to receive the sacred ministrations from other nations where there is no such order as metropolitans.” The canon does not dare to state that there were no bishops, because the Irish bishops had already proved themselves competent to defeat the Roman bishops concerning the ancient church rights of England and Ireland, both being identical. Not a solitary Irish bishop claiming under Patrick ever showed himself during this great controversy. Not one existed. The 42d Canon of the Council of Chalons, A. D. 813, forbids certain Irishmen who declared themselves to be bishops, to ordain priests or deacons without the consent of the local minister. In the same year the Council of Aix la Chapelle declares that in some places there were Irishmen calling themselves bishops who ordained many unsuitable persons without the consent of the magistrates. Ireland was filled with chorepiscopi, or country bishops, down to the twelfth century

in opposition to the persistent efforts of Rome. Whether this condition of things was good or bad for the country is not the question. We have to do only with the fact.

In the year A. D. 1152 the third general council of Kells was held by Cardinal Paparo, Roman legate. In that year a canon was passed at that council ordaining that when a chorepiscopus died, or any bishop who possessed a small freehold in Ireland, archpresbyters or rural deans should take their places. These officers should superintend clergy and laity under general orders from a metropolitan. In the year A. D. 1216, another council was held at the cathedral church of St. Peter and St. Paul of Newtown, near Athunry, by Simon Rochfort, bishop of Meath. At this council constitutions were adopted renewing by express reference the canon of the council of Kells. Accordingly a large number of rural sees were formed into deaneries. These rural sees amounted to 300 at least. To account for these, St. Patrick is said to have ordained three hundred, or according to others, three hundred and sixty-five bishops. But as the Irish were "in Christum credentes," before Patrick, and Palladius came as their first bishop, or according to Lynch, as their metropolitan, the inference is necessary that there was clear knowledge abroad in Rome of the Irish church; and Prosper reduced that general knowledge to a fixed statement. It is remarkable also that Prosper does not state the fact as a discovery, or as conveying a novel idea. He says that Palladius was ordained as first bishop to the Irish believing in Christ. If "primus" meant "metropolitan," the inference is also necessary that there were bishops already, and Palladius was set over them. In either case what comes of the apostleship of Patrick? Prosper is confirmed by the unbroken history of the Irish church

for eight hundred years after his time. Chorepiscopus is the Greek title universally applied to country bishops. Their number was restrained by the canons of Antioch and Ancyra, and at Laodoea the name was changed to Periodentes, or itinerant visitors, an officer corresponding to archdeacon. About the time of the Norman conquest this functionary was called a rural dean. A surviving chorepiscopus still remained at Canterbury,—relic of British independence,—at the conquest. He dwelt in the church of St. Martin near Canterbury, and on the arrival of Lanfranc he was expelled as well as a few others in England. The Irish clergy were married and many abbacies descended by hereditary succession. The Culdees were married, and in 1100 the Culdee abbot of St. Andrews was a married man. The right to elect to a see belonged to the Sept or Clan; and the church councils were attended by clergy and laity. The office of bishop in fact belonged to a certain family in each case. Thus the first twenty-seven bishops of Roscarberry were of the family of St. Faehnan, its first prelate. The first great breach in this ancient custom took place when Malachy O'Morghair, in 1129, was appointed to Armagh to the exclusion of the old family. Hence we find in the narratives of the feuds of the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries that certain families assailed and butchered certain other families. When differences of creed were begun by Roman ecclesiastics, and the various families took opposite sides, the dreadful destruction of churches, schools, books, and towns can be referred to this additional and very potent source of trouble, as well as other causes. The Irish married clergy at length were denounced as Corbes, a word intimating adultery. St. Bernard denounced the Irish clergy as a wicked and adulterous generation.

The sale of Ireland to Henry II. can only be referred to by every Irishman, and especially every Roman Catholic Irishman, with shame and humiliation. That Henry should seek to conquer the island was natural enough. The Irish had aided the Welsh, the Scotch, and the French against him. He had a hostile shore on his very western coast, and self-defense justified him in abating a nuisance. Had the Irish possessed common prudence they would not have provoked his resentment. The unqualified submission of the Irish chiefs to Charlemagne is clearly recorded by Eginhard; and as that fact was probably known to Henry, it was additionally necessary for him to prevent this circumstance from growing into a right, or the claim of one on the part of France. The papal bull by Adrian IV. has been assailed as a forgery. It is only necessary to quote the Rev. Matthew Kelly, St. Patrick's college, Maynooth, the industrious annotator of "*Cambrensis Eversus*." Page 407, vol. 2, he says: "There is no reason for assuming that either bull is spurious; and it is quite clear that of Alexander III. at least was not surreptitious." Again (p. 409), "No solid reason whatsoever has been adduced against the authenticity of those bulls."

The language used by these two popes can only refer to those Irish not under the control of Roman bishops. If it includes them, what must be said of the power of those bishops for any good? Adrian says that they are "ignorant and barbarous people;" that Henry should "subject its people to obedience of laws," "should eradicate the seeds of vice," should aid "in checking the torrent of vice, and in the correction of morals," and "endeavor to form that people to good morals." "Let the religion of the faith of Christ be planted and increased," the pope says; and all this was to be done by Henry II. in

the face of the apostles; bishops, metropolitans and legates who had come from Rome for centuries, and according to their own statements had had the island under their absolute control for eight hundred years. Alexander III. is even more severe. One letter is short and may be inserted, the other two can only be referred to. In the first epistle he says: "Inde est, quod utique nos, ex vestris literis intelligentes quod per potentiam Karissimi in Christo filii nostri, H. illustris Anglorum regis, qui divina inspiratione compunctus coadunitis viribus suis gentem illam barbaram, incultam, et divinæ legis ignaram, suo Dominio subjugavit" * * "gens illæ indisciplinata et indomita cultum divinæ legis et religionem Christianæ fidei," etc. The pope rejoices that Henry II. had subdued, by the strength of his arms, and the assistance of God, that barbarous, uncultivated nation, ignorant of divine law, and that there was now a prospect that this "undisciplined nation, not reduced to observance of divine law and the religion of the Christian faith," might be, etc., etc. All this of the Irish people who are described as of the "Island of Saints" for centuries. This passage is extracted from Alexander's letter to the Irish bishops. In his letter to the Irish princes he says:—Rev. Matthew Kelly's translation in preference to another—"When it became well known to us by common report, and by certain accounts, that you had taken for your king and lord our very dear son in Christ, Henry the illustrious King of the English, and that you had sworn fealty to him, we felt so much the greater joy in our hearts as by the power of the same king, there may be with God's help, greater peace and tranquility in your country, and the Irish people (which by the enormity and filth of its vices seemed to have so very much retrograded) may be more zealously instructed," etc., etc.

This was the first time that the English had anything to do with the administration of Irish affairs. The only previous interference was the invasion by Beorth in 648 at the instigation (?) of Canterbury, as before stated. To Henry himself, Alexander wrote as follows: "Alexander, bishop, servant of the servants of God to his most dear son in Christ the illustrious King of the English, greeting and apostolical benediction.

"Seeing that the grants made by our predecessor for valid causes ought at all times to be approved and confirmed, we following the example of the venerable pope Adrian, and looking forward to the realization of our own wishes, do hereby ratify and confirm the grant of the dominion of the kingdom of Ireland delivered by him to thee, reserving to St. Peter, and the Holy Roman church the annual payment of one penny from each house as well in Ireland as in England, that by the eradicating of the abominations of that land, a barbarous nation, which is Christian only in name, may by your indulgent care put on innocence of morals, and that the disorderly church of those territories being brought into order the people henceforward become through you, Christians in fact as well as in name."

Now what was the "disorderly church" here spoken of? It could not be the Roman church for that was under a numerous hierarchy and was governed by councils and legates and metropolitans, and was, according to Roman writers, the bright star in the west, the most Christian church of Ireland. The pope could not possibly mean that church. He must mean the other, the ancient church, the Græco-Irish church that still existed, and must be subjugated.

All this corresponds with Henry's letter to pope Adrian which denounced the Irish as "schismatics and bad

christians." All this also corresponds to a still more momentous document forwarded by the Irish to pope John XXII. on the occasion of Edward Bruce's invasion of Ulster in the reign of Edward II. Bruce having been invited over to expel the Normans planted in Ireland by two popes. This momentous missive told the pope that his predecessor had handed the Irish over "to be torn by teeth more savage than those of any beast." These settlers were of the same religion as Rome, and now warred against the primitive Irish on the double ground of religion and conquest. This manifesto evidently composed by men to whom Latin was not familiar, ought not to be abridged in the most appropriate passage.

"Dogmatizent enim hæretici non solum illorum laici et seculares, sed eciam quidam religiosi ipsorum, quod non magis est peccatum interficere hominem Hibernicum quam unum canem, aut quodlibet aliud animal brutum. Et in hujusmodi oppositionis hæreticæ assercionem, quidam monachi illorum affirmant intrepide quod hominem Hibernicum interficerent, ob hoc non desisterent a celebratione eciam uno die. Et sient indubitanter monachi Cisterciensis ordinis de Granardo Ardmacanensis diocesis necnon et monachi de insula ejusdem ordinis Dunensis diocesis, quod verbis prædicant invericundo opere complent. Nam Hibernicos publice armati invadunt et occidunt et nihilominus suas celebrant missas. Et similiter Simon de ordine minorum Covernsis episcopi frater germanus, istius hæresis præcipuus est dogmatizator, qui anno proximo præterito in curia nobilis Domini, Domini Edwardi de Broyse, Comitis de Carrik, ex maligni cordis habundancia, silere non valens, in præsentia dicti Domini, prout idem testatur in hujusmodi prædicationis verba impudenter prorupit viz non est peccatum hominem Hiberdicum interficere et si

ipsemet idem committeret non minus de hoc missam celebraret. Et ex illa hæresi prava in alium incidentis errorem, omnes indifferenter, tam regulares quam seculares pertinaciter asserunt sibi licitum fore vi et armis auferre de terris et possessionibus omniphariis quicquid possunt nullam super hoc eciam ni mortis articulo sibi conscientiam facientes." Mac. Ex. 278.

This document was presented to pope John XXII. in the name of Donald O'Neill, King of Ulster, and the native Irish. It may be rendered as follows: "Not only their laity and secular clergy but even some of their religious assert the heretical dogma that it is no more sin to slay an Irishman than to kill a dog or any other brute. And in the assertion of this heretical opposition certain monks daringly assert, if it happened to them that they should kill an Irishman, as often happens, they would not desist from religious celebration for a day. As likewise beyond doubt certain monks of the Cistercian order of the diocese of Armagh, and likewise monks of the island of the same order in the diocese of Down perform with shameless energy what they declare in words. For they publicly assail the Irish with weapons, and kill them and nevertheless they celebrate their masses. Likewise brother Simon of the order of the Minorites own brother of the bishop of Cover(Coverensis?), an episcopal assertor of this heresy, who this last year in the court of the noble lord, lord Edward Bruce, Earl of Carrik, of the abundant malignity of his heart, not being able to hold his peace, in the presence of the said lord, as is fully testified, impudently thrust into his preaching the declaration that it is no sin to kill an Irishman, and if he should himself commit such act, not the less for that would he celebrate mass. And falling from this depraved heresy into another, they all alike pertinaciously declare,

both seculars and regulars, that it was lawful for them to carry off by force and arms everything they could from our lands and property of every kind, and that in the moment of death they would feel no sting of conscience therefor."

Let this treatment of the native Irish, and the spirit that suggested and accompanied it, be compared with the conduct of Roman ecclesiastics toward pronounced heretics in those ages, and they will both be found to have the same origin and exciting cause. The Irish were heretics, and they were murdered as heretics by the Roman priests and monks who gloried in the act as acceptable to God. The Irish thus slaughtered could not be Roman Catholics; Cistercians and Minorites would not slaughter them. It was no sin in those days to slay a heretic. The Irish denounced their persecutors as heretics as they had done centuries before. Henry II. stigmatized them as "schismatics." Anselm and Gillebert also denounce them as "schismatical." Why all this cruelty? "Before this period, the Irish ecclesiastics took no oaths to the pope," says Dr. O'Connor;—Columbanus II, 160. "They never applied to the see of Rome for bulls of nomination, institution, or exemption, they never appealed to Rome for decision of ecclesiastical causes; the bishops and prelates of a tribe were appointed by the chieftain, either directly, or with the previous form of an election by the priesthood. Papal legates had no jurisdiction in Ireland until the twelfth century, and after that period their jurisdiction was limited to the English settlements. In general, the discipline of the Irish church had so little correspondence with the Roman that it received several hard names from the papal church of the twelfth century." Lanigan IV., 12, 218.

Is there any difficulty in explaining why the popes sold Ireland to Henry II.? They handed it over to him precisely as they handed other people over to the "Secular arm." It was "schismatical," and "heretical." Hence it was no sin for a Cistercian or a Minorite to kill an Irishman, no more a sin than to kill a dog. Is it a wonder that pope Alexander III. should write to the bishops of Lismore, Armagh, Dublin, Tuam, "*Quantis vitiorum enormitatibus gens Hibernica sit infecta, et quomodo Dei timore et Christianæ fidei religioni postposita ea sequatur quæ pericula pariunt animarum;* *"

* ad notitiam apostolicæ sedis plerumque pervenit." "With what enormous vices the Irish nation is infected, and how far having abandoned the fear of God and the religion of the christian faith, it pursues those objects that are perilous to the soul, has frequently come to the knowledge of the apostolic see." That Rome had only partially made her way in Ireland up to that date is clearly stated by pope Alexander in his letter to Henry. He says: "*Et quia sicut tuæ magnitudinis excellentia Romana ecclesia aliud jus habeat in Insula quam in terra magna et continua, nos eam de tuæ devotionis fervore spem fiduciamque tenentes, quod jura ipsius ecelsiæ non solum conservare velis, set etiam ampliare, et ubi nulum jus habeat it debes sibi conferre, magnificentiam tuam rogamus et solícite commonemus ut in prescripta terra jura beati Petri nobis solícite conservare, et si eciam ibi non habet tua magnitudo eidem ecclesiæ eadem vero constituat et assignet, ita quod exinde Regiæ celsitudini gratias debeamus exsolvere copiosas, et tu primitias tuæ gloriæ et triumphí Deo videaris offerre.*"

Dat. Tusculi XII. Kal. Octob."

"And because through the excellency of your greatness the Roman church possesses in the Island a different juris-

diction from that in the great mainland, we entertaining that hope and confidence from the fervor of your devotion, that you would be willing not only to preserve the rights of that church, but even extend them, and WHERE IT HAS NO JURISDICTION THERE TO CONFER IT ON THAT CHURCH, request and earnestly recommend to your magnificence that you carefully study to preserve to us the rights of the blessed Peter in the aforesaid country, *and* EVEN WHERE IT HAS NO JURISDICTION YOUR GREATNESS WILL ESTABLISH IT AND ASSIGN IT TO THE SAID CHURCH, so that we may be bound to return abundant thanks to your royal eminence, and you may be seen to present the first fruits of your glory and your triumph to God."

Thus the affairs of Ireland were in such a mixed condition that the pope did not possess any jurisdiction in some portions of it, according to this letter, and in by far the larger portion according to the other testimony above given. Clearly it was in these other portions that the "filthy lewdness," the "schismatics," the "heretics," were to be found, the "Christians only in name;" and it was these persons whom Henry was to reduce; the others did not need reducing. The extent of the pope's and Henry's jurisdiction is stated by Sir John Davies. "Thus was all Ireland cantonized among tenne persons of the English nation; and thogh they had not gained possession of one-third part of the whole kingdom, yet in tittle they were owners and lords of all, so as nothing was left to be granted to the natives." The grant and permission and authority to do that had emanated from a pope who did not own a foot of the soil, and had no rights over it of any kind. This grant was similar to that of England itself to William, of Sicily to prince Edmund, and of the whole of America to the Spaniards, and the other hemisphere to the Portuguese. But all

this is nothing to a man who controls heaven, and hell and purgatory.

The explanation of the immunity claimed by Cistercian and Minorite monks and others from all punishment for the murder of Irishmen is found in the fifth constitution of the Synod of Cashel held under Henry, and attended only by Roman bishops;—the clergy of independent Ulster and the Irish laity not being present at all. The Canon is:—“V. In quinto, quod pro homicidio a laicis perpetrato quoties inde cum suis inimicis componunt, cleri videlicet eorum cognati nihil inde persolvant, sed sicut in homicidii perpetratione, sic in pecuniæ solutione sint immunes.” “Fifth—that whenever the laity shall compound with their enemies for the commission of homicide, the clergy who are relatives shall make no payment; but whether in the commission of a homicide, or in the payment of the fine, they shall be exempt from punishment.” From this synod the laity were for the first time excluded, although the pope in speaking to King Turlough expressly recommended the presence of the laity as usual. “Sacro eorum conventui presentiam vestram cum vestris optimatibus exhibete.” Had these nobles been present the Cistercians and Minorites, and other “regulares et seculares” could not have legally acquired the right to kill an Irishman “like a dog.”

It was by Paparo, Gillebert, Malachy,—Italian, Norman and renegade Irishman,—and this council, that the Roman church was substituted for the ancient native church of the Irish people that existed long before Patrick,—the church described by Prosper. From the twelfth century the two races—the Irish and the Anglo-Irish—became more and more mixed. The latter claimed the land by grant. It was at that period that England was most Roman; it was then that Rome and Roman

influence controled English policy, and directed the English mind more than at any other time. The literature then introduced into Ireland and the entire direction of Irish education and Irish affairs were assumed by Rome. It was this influence emanating from Roman thought and Roman hostility to the original Irish that dictated the statutes of Kilkenny. It was not the Anglo-Irish, it was the "Meere Irish," as the Jesuit Campion subsequently called them, that were fiercely proscribed. It was the Irish whom it was no sin for a Cistercian or a Minorite to kill, the Irish whose land was all confiscated and handed over in large quantities to Roman establishments free from all taxes and duties whatsoever. It was against this Anglo-Norman rapacity that Edward Bruce was invited to Ireland; and this new ally destroyed churches and burned books. Several attempts were made by the Irish to obtain an extension of English law to them. Edward I. intended to do so; but his intentions were nullified. King John actually did extend English law to the Irish, but the opposite faction who claimed the land of the "schismatics" and "heretics" under papal protection defeated the king's efforts. Little if any attention was paid at that period to Irish annals. The old books disappeared. The original natives were practically outlawed. De Courcy in his invasion of Ulster destroyed monasteries and churches, and left deeper desolation than before. The bard and the song ceased. The annals were not written except a few fragments compiled from the wreck of the records. True history and fabulous legends, the acts of Danish robbers, and the miracles of Roman saints are all mixed. When the saints are highly glorified by the wickedness in which they take part, and acquire fame for, the votaries of those saints necessarily glory in the wickedness and continue to repeat it. Such

literature which thrusts men's vices into heaven, and then draws divine sanctions of those vices down from heaven is too accursed for language to characterize. Much Irish literature became of that description. Before Roman influence, the annals and the laws of Ireland, as shown by the great memorials of the early days, were singularly free from such corruption; and although much of the Brehon law is puerile, and it is all extremely imperfect, yet there is no trace of Roman thought or Roman legislation in any part of it. Rome always imposes her own law wherever she has authority. Not only are Irish customs and Irish ceremonies thus singularly free from Roman, but they are filled with Greek principles, Greek doctrines, Greek ceremonies, and Greek ecclesiastical order, in the later ages sadly degenerated, since the taking of Alexandria by the Saracens, the total dissolution of the Greek power in the West, and the complete severance of the Irish people from the Greek influences rendered the remote remnant of Greek civilization in Ireland absolutely helpless. Irish genius and Irish-Greek scholarship long raised Ireland to an unequalled literary glory in Europe; but the papal emissaries first, the Danes next, the popes and Normans last, wrought out the total eclipse of Irish renown, and crushed the ancient Irish literature beneath the feet of men. Only Bohemia affords a parallel case. The Bohemians have long recognized the source of their oppression. Will the Irish never do so? "During this long period," says Mr. O'Connor, "the spirit of ancient manners shot a gleam through the chaos of anarchy in which it was enveloped." * * "A retention of some ancient manners prevented them from sinking into absolute barbarism, much less a stage of savageness." This spirit of ancient manners was that which sent forth Scotus Erigena to establish

those literary institutions and constitutions in the revived western empire which form the basis of modern public school systems. From Henry to Elizabeth the Irish had recovered the greater portion of their territory, and literature fitfully revived. By what means it was cultivated in that period we may learn from the picture drawn by the Jesuit Campion, who traversed the country in the Roman interest previous to the pope's bull which fulminated the terrors of armadas, armed insurrections, and internal rebellions against Queen Elizabeth.

"They speak Latin like a vulgar language, learned in their common schools of leachcraft and law, whereat they begin children, and hold on sixteen or twenty years, conning by rote the aphorisms of Hippocrates, and the Civil Institutes, and a few other parings of the two faculties.' I have seen them where they kept school, ten in some one chamber, groveling upon couches of straw, their books at their noses, themselves lying prostrate, and so to chant out their lessons by piecemeal, being the most part lusty fellows of twenty-five years and upwards." Campion's acct. of Ireland.

As such was the picture of Irish schools in 1571, it must have been far worse during the period immediately subsequent to the Norman invasion. Books were most scantily supplied, and in most places there were none. There is a statement in "Phœnician Ireland" by "Villanueva," edited by O'Brien, that "Peter Lombard, titular archbishop of Armagh in the reign of Elizabeth declares in his 'Analecta' that the English governors endeavored to destroy or carry away every monument of antiquity belonging to the Irish of which they could obtain possession; and that a great number were shut up in the Tower of London, and consigned to forgetfulness which, if translated, would throw new and interest-

ing light on religion and letters." O'Halloran makes the statement at length, and specifically charges lord Grey, Sir George Carew, and Sir Philip Sydney with that vandalism. The means to verify or refute this statement are not at hand. Some light on the subject would be of interest. There is also a statement that the "Dane and the Briton were alike hostile to the proofs of a former glory, and what the pagan spared the Christian sought to demolish." How much the pagans spared, and how much their Irish allies spared may be seen from the former pages. There is a still more severe statement that "Queen Elizabeth gave orders to her officers to destroy every Irish manuscript they could find." This assertion ought to be either proved or disproved. No authority for it has been produced. There is a statement by O'Halloran that "Sir George Carew endeavored to obtain some ancient manuscripts." There was nothing either improper or improbable in that. The remark proves the great scarcity of books. He also says that "Sir Philip Sydney endeavored to destroy the manuscripts all over the country." This assertion ought to be verified or disproved. The character of Sir Philip Sydney is not consistent with such proceedings. He probably did endeavor to secure manuscripts, but assuredly not for destruction. In either case the difficulty of procuring manuscripts is pointed out by the allusion to them. Moore is more reasonable. He refers the dearth of literature to "The constant ravages of invasion, and the blind fury of intestine dissension which occasioned the destruction and loss of manuscripts between the time of Patrick and the ninth and tenth centuries." The poetic annalist introduced in the "Wars of the Gaedhil and the Gaill" is still more explicit. Speaking of his hero Brian, he says: "By him also were erected noble churches, etc.

He sent professors to buy books, etc., because their writings and their books in every church and every sanctuary where they were, were burned and thrown into water by the plunderers from the beginning to the end." This last expression is explained in a note as meaning that it was the constant practice of the Danes to destroy books in that manner. If Brian was obliged to send abroad for books in the eleventh century, Irish manuscripts must have been extremely rare, and other books probably entirely wanting. There was not much left for Sir Philip Sydney. See O'H. Prelim. Dis. p. 59. This author also says, p. 60, "From age to age quantities of vellum manuscripts were sent out of the kingdom; they still lie scattered in their different public libraries; but no attempt has ever been made to inform the public of their contents. In the reign of Elizabeth, of James the First, of Charles the First and Second, and even to the Revolution, hereditary antiquarians, poets, lawyers, and physicians were everywhere to be found well versed in their different professions, and highly capable of translating into latin the works of their different departments, yet no measure was taken to further these good ends." These statements require confirmation. This author, as well as others, takes good care not to inform us that the most interesting book in all Ireland was taken to France, and not recovered until 1790; and it was King James II. who stole it. That book is the Book of Leachan, now the pride of Irish literature. The Royal Irish Academy would be extremely glad to discover any of these Irish manuscripts on vellum or any other material scattered through the libraries of Europe. Many Irish books were reported as having been carried to Copenhagen by the Danes. But no such books have ever been discovered in Copenhagen after most diligent search. The

act is extremely improbable. It is impossible to doubt that long before the reign of Henry VIII. Irish manuscripts had become so scarce that the discovery of one was regarded as a notable event. That the injuries committed by the Danes were to some extent repaired by Brian Boromh is probably true. But that any man could replace the lost literature of the nation, in the eleventh century, when copyists were not numerous, and copying was a tedious process, and originals did not exist, is too much for any sober writer to assert.

Two other notices of Irish writers and writings may be made here, although they are obscure. "Macarius, a Scot of Ireland," says Ware, *Writers*, p. 63, "flourished about this time in France (A. D. 880), and wrote a treatise in defense of the opinion of Faustus, bishop of Ries, who affirmed 'That our souls as well as our bodies are material, and that God only was incorporeal. Against which Bertram employed his pen.' The title of Macarius' book is *De Statu Animæ*. It is said to be yet in MSS., in the monastery of St. Elgius near Noyon." The description given in this extract of the doctrine contained in this book does not correspond with the title.

"Marianus, a native of Ireland, commonly called Marianus Scotus, flourished in the year 1083, and is reckoned among the annalists of the first rank. He was born in the year 1028; which he discovers himself under the same year; was made a monk, or (as he says himself) forsook the world in 1052, and in 1056 left his country and took a journey to Germany, where for almost three years he lived a monk in St. Martin's convent, Cologne, and afterward for ten years cloistered himself up in the abbey of Fuld; and was in the meantime, viz., in 1059, ordained a priest. At length, in 1069, he removed to Mentz, where he again was shut up till he died, in 1086.

Of his being shut up in Mentz he gives this account of himself: "Anno, 1069, I, the miserable Marianus, by the command of the bishop of Mentz, and abbot of Fuld, on Saturday before Palm Sunday, the third of April, ten years after I had been shut up, was set at liberty from my cell in Fuld and came to Mentz; and on the festival of the seven brethren I was again shut up." He wrote several learned books; and his character is thus summed up by Sigebert of Gemblours: "That without comparison he was the most learned man of his age, an excellent historian, a famous man of calculations, and a solid Divine." To which may be added the encomium given him by Trithemius, "That he was most learned in the Sacred Scriptures, well skilled in all the sciences, of a subtle genius, and of an exemplary life." This splendid man was imprisoned for twenty-seven years without law or trial, solely by the command of an abbot. That was the age when a person "famous at calculations," was suspected of heresy, and more than suspected of magic; and there can be little doubt that Marianus was the predecessor, at least in experience of Roger Bacon.

That Irish manuscripts were sufficiently scarce at the beginning of the seventeenth century is sufficiently illustrated by the incident stated to have occurred at the assizes of Fermanagh, held in the abbey of Devenish, by Sir John Davis in 1607. The jury referred to an old parchment roll remaining in the hands of one O'Brislon, a chronicler, and principal Brehon of that country; whereupon O'Brislon was sent for; but the old man declared that the roll had been destroyed by some soldiers. This statement being known to be untrue, an oath was administered to O'Brislon, whereupon he confessed that he knew where the roll was, but that he would

not produce it until the lord chancellor should give him his word and hand for the restoration of the volume. The double pledge being smilingly given, the old man produced the roll from his bosom. It was written on both sides "in fair Irish characters."

The turbulent independence gradually acquired by the Anglo-Irish, the lands they possessed, and the local interests they had gained gradually drew them and the old Irish together in one common opposition to the English, who were now regarded as oppressors by both. Distinctions of creed gradually disappeared also, and when the reformation had made some progress it was largely adopted in Ireland as well as in England. No difficulties arose until the papal court determined to destroy Queen Elizabeth. Then Campion and Parsons traversed Ireland preaching that Elizabeth was excommunicated and a heretic, and that all her authority had been withdrawn by the pope. The power of the Spaniards was extolled, and the excitable Irish were readily persuaded to assert a national independence. Then, and not until then, was all Ireland united at once against the foreigner, and the reformed faith. With great dexterity the union of the papal church and the idea of Irish nationality was inculcated by Roman agents, and those two ideas have been made the means of mutual support ever since. Two popes sold Ireland for pence to the Normans, as long as the Normans were Catholics; as as soon as the Normans rejected the pope's authority they were declared to have no rights in Ireland.

One act of Queen Elizabeth's reign is memorable as an instance of unwisdom,—the most mischievous of her government. In an Act of Uniformity,—1559-60, the Irish language was proscribed for the church services, and the Latin substituted for it. The Irish were pas-

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ENGLAND

JAMES I.—CHARLES I.—AND DOWN TO RECENT TIMES

The numerous attempts at securing religious liberty which were made during the three centuries preceding the year 1600 were all more or less mingled with cries for civil freedom. Indeed, the word "Liberty" had been frequently heard in its general application as meaning the right of all men to judge for themselves in all matters affecting their own welfare. As these attempts acquired additional strength they provoked correspondingly violent opposition. The royal power had been many times invoked against popular demands, and the "secular power" had descended to be the mere executioner of ecclesiastical penalties.

Every offense was necessarily included under dangers to morality. The failure of the peasant wars in Germany, and the suppression of the risings under Tyler and Cade in England, and of the Jacquerie in France, had intensified the royalist claims, and the "divine right of kings" became a monarchical axiom. It was unfortunate that James I. came to the throne when this principle had been elevated to its greatest height by the extirpation of all constitutional and municipal systems and customs in Spain by Charles V. It was only to be expected that flatterers would exalt this alleged royal dignity, and assert the most extravagant claims for it. Accordingly, when Dr. Cowell's "Law Dictionary" was published in 1607, at Cambridge, it created animated discussion and angry feelings. This book declared that the king was not

bound by the laws of the realm; that he could pass laws without consulting parliament, and that even finance was subjected to vote of the estates by favor, and not of right. Probably the author had forgotten the famous short statute of 1404 concerning the dangers of alchemy, and the peril to the state if the king could acquire money except through parliament. In this famous book the coronation oath was explained away, and the right of the king to alter any law he pleased was broadly stated. The book was censured in both houses of parliament. The king did not dare resist public opinion. The author was imprisoned for a short time, and the Law Dictionary suppressed. It was committed to the flames, and the commons returned thanks for a victory over their sovereign, an event in that age startling for its novelty. The opinion prevailing in royal councils concerning the right or the capacity of the public to think for themselves may be judged of by the substance of the king's proclamation. It declares that "from the very highest mysteries of the Godhead and the most inscrutable councils in the Trinitie to the very lowest pit of Hell, and the confused actions of the devils there, there is nothing now unsearched into by the curiositie of men's braines;" that "it is no wonder that they do not spare to wade in all the deepest mysteries that belong to the persons or the state of kings and princes that are gods upon earth." The king had evidently learned a lesson from continental Europe, and the despots there, for he adds: "For better oversight of books of all sortes before they come to the presse, we have resolved to make choice of commissioners that shall looke more narrowly into the nature of all those things that shall be put to the presse, either concerning our authoritie royale, or concerning our government, or the laws of our kingdom." Pope Borgia's decree con-

cerning the censorship of the press was thus covertly introduced into England. James continued his war against books fitfully, and according to his humor, or his nerves at each particular provocation. He was Jesuit, Calvinist and Arminian by turns. Dr. Mocket's book "*Doctrina et Politia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*" was censured first and then burned; although there was no error in the book but an omission of part of the church of England articles, and a mistake in the order of precedence accorded to the Bishop of Winchester. In the case of Dr. Montagu, afterward Bishop of Winchester, an attempt was made to induce parliament itself to stultify its own character by becoming a censor of books. The divine published a treatise styled "*A gagge for an old goose*," in answer to certain Jesuits. The book was examined by two self-constituted censors, and declared to be popish; and parliament was petitioned to suppress it. The king also was urged to proceed against this book on the ground that it was Arminian. Dr. Montagu wrote accordingly another book entitled "*Appello Cæsarem*," in defense of his opinions. After Charles' accession the new "Committee on Religion" took up the question and prayed the king "that the said Richard Montagu may be punished according to his demerits, in such exemplary manner as may deter others from attempting so presumptuously to disturb the peace of the church and state, and that the books aforesaid may be suppressed and burnt. But Dr. Montagu became bishop in 1628.

Dr. Mainwaring, one of the king's chaplains, next fell into trouble for some sermons in which the opinions of Dr. Cowell were re-asserted. The sermons were censured by the House of Commons. He was to be imprisoned, fined £1,000, to make submission in writing, to be suspended from his ministry, disabled from holding any

dignity, and from preaching at court, and that his books should be burned in London and at the universities. But the matter eventually rested, and Dr. Mainwaring became Bishop of St. David's. Alexander Leighton, a Scotchman, father of archbishop Leighton, published a scurrilous book concerning prelacy in 1628. The opinions expressed were extreme. Bishops were "men of blood, ravens, and magpies; the institution of episcopacy was anti-christian and satanical, the queen was a daughter of Heth, and the king was corrupted by prelacy to the misfortune of his people. The murder of Buckingham was approved. June 4, 1630, the author was examined in the star chamber. The writings were pronounced seditious and scandalous; a fine of £10,000 was imposed, Leighton was publicly whipped in palace yard, he stood in the pillory, an ear was cropped and a nostril split, and one cheek was branded S. S. (sower of sedition). After a week in the Fleet prison, Leighton was brought out and again whipped, again mutilated, and then imprisoned for eleven years. In 1641 the sentence was reversed, and the punishment declared altogether illegal. Torture and mutilation were always illegal in England.

In 1622. David Pare's Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans was burned in London, Oxford and Cambridge, by order of the privy council.

One of the most exuberant writers of that period was William Prynne "utter barrister of Lincoln's In." He published nearly 200 books, chiefly on devotional subjects. The charge of having some of these works burned was brought against Archbishop Laud, but although he argued on the subject he did not deny the accusation. He says himself of his accuser, Michael Sparks, "He does not say absolutely burned, but as he is informed, and he may be informed amiss." The accu-

ser had given the archbishop full and fair opportunity squarely to deny the accusation, and the defense was only an equivocation. Prynne's book "*Histriomastix, the player's scorge, or actors' tragedies*" published in 1633, was the first to have the distinction of being burnt in England by the common hangman. The book was interpreted as an attack on the queen who at times took part in theatricals. To publish such a book at that time was dangerous, as the court was fond of dramatic performances, and "women actors" were severely censured by Prynne. The punishment was dreadful. Sentence was pronounced by lord Cottington, Chancellor of the Exchequer:—

"I do in the first place begin censure with his book. I condemn it to be burnt in the most public manner that can be. The manner in other countries is (where such books are) to be burnt by the hangman, though not used in England (yet I wish it may in respect of the strangeness, and heinousness of the matter contained in it), to have a strange manner of burning, and therefore I shall desire it may be so burnt by the hand of the hangman. If it may agree with the court I do adjudge Mr. Prynne to be put from the bar, and to be for ever incapable of his profession. I do adjudge him, my lords, that the Society of Lincoln's Inn do put him out of the Society; and because had his offspring from Oxford (now with a low voice said the Archbishop of Canterbury 'I am sorry that ever Oxford bred such an evil member'), there to be degraded. And I do condemn Mr. Prynne to stand in the Pillory in two places, in Westminster and Cheapside, and that he shall lose both his ears, one in each place, and with a paper on his head declaring how foul and offense it is, viz.: that it is for an infamous libel against both their Majesties State and Government.

And lastly (nay not lastly) I do condemn him in £ 5,000 to the King. And lastly perpetual imprisonment." When such atrocious punishments had worked the full measure of appropriate indignation in men's breasts, is it any wonder that Charles' head came off.

Buckner, the licenser of the book, was amerced in £50 fine, Sparkes in £500 for printing it. He was also to stand in the pillory "without touching of his ears," because St. Paul's churchyard was "a consecrated place," as said the Archbishop of Canterbury on the occasion. "I cry your Grace's mercy," said Lord Cottington, "then let it be in Cheapside," not a consecrated place, and therefore not "without touching of his ears."

In 1637 Prynne was again in trouble for "writing and publishing seditious, schismatical, and libelous books against the hierarchy of the church."

In 1624 he had published at Leyden a book entitled "*Elenchus religionis Papisticæ, in quo probatur neque Apostolicam, neque Catholicam, neque Romanam Esse.*" Eleven years later he published an abridgment of the same book, "*Flagellum Pontificis et Episcoporum Latinalium.*" Summoned before the Court of High Commission on thirty-seven different articles of accusation, he was condemned to a fine of £1,000, to be excommunicated, to be expelled from the bar; his book was ordered to be burned, and he was required further to pay the costs and remain in prison until he should retract. That period he declared to be "'till domesday in the after-noone."

In 1637 he published the "*Litany of John Bastwicke.*" This book was printed in Holland; but Archbishop Laud heard of the importation, seized the distributor, and the second cargo of books was burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

Two books of Dr. Burton, a London clergyman, "An Apology for an appeal to the King's most excellent Majesty"; "The Divine Tragedy recording God's fearful judgments against Sabbath breakers," two books by Bastwicke, the "Apologeticus," the Litany, and the "News from Ipswich," were next made the subjects of prosecution before the Lords in council. The guilty parties were sentenced by Lord Cottington, to "lose their ears in palace yard in Westminster, to be fined £5,000, and imprisoned for life in three distant places in the kingdom. Prynne was also branded on the cheek with the letters S. L., as a seditious libeler. To this addition "all the lords agreed, and so the Lord keeper concluded the censure."

In 1640 two books were burned by the common hangman under orders from the House of Lords. These were "Altare Christianum," and "Sunday no Sabbath," and the burning took place at London, Oxford, and Cambridge.

The Puritans also burned the books that displeased them. Coppe's "Fiery Flying Roll," Clarkson's "Single Eye," "The Accuser Shamed or a pair of bellows to blow off the dust cast upon John Fry, a member of Parliament, by Col. John Downs, also a member of Parliament," were handed over to the hangman. King James' famous "Book of Sports," published in 1618 gave great offense to the godly puritans. This work was issued on the advice of Morton, bishop of Chester; and was occasioned by the dull visit of King James to Lancashire. The people did not make holiday enough on Sundays for the royal taste. The people are therefore enjoined to practise dancing, archery, leaping, vaulting, whitsun ales, morris dances, and others. The baiting of animals, being at all times prohibited to the meaner sort of peo-

ple, and playing at bowls were also forbidden. Some time afterward recreations were forbidden until after evening prayer; and those not godly enough to attend prayers either morning or evening were excommunicated from the baitings, and "incapable of such his royal indulgence at all." This foolish production was ordered to be read in all churches throughout England. The lengthened face, and "rigid feature" of the puritans relaxed at the consignment of the "Book of Sports" to the flames. Chief Justice Richardson had published an order forbidding the observance of village feasts and wakes on Sundays. The king and the clergy resented this interference with ecclesiastical authority, and the Book of Sports saw the light. The Chief Justice was summoned before the Council and "received such a rattle," that as he declared "he had almost been choked by a pair of lawn sleeves." At length when puritan influence became supreme in 1644, both houses adopted a resolution ordering the Book to be burned by the justices of the peace in Cheapside, and at the Exchange. May 10 the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex were gravely required to see the order carried into effect. All persons possessing copies were ordered to surrender them. All that could be seized were destroyed.

The Stuarts "learned nothing and forgot nothing" in exile. Book burning was resumed at the restoration. June 16, 1660, the House of Commons expressed its solemn adulation of royalty by a resolution that his Majesty be humbly moved to recall three books in defense of the death of Charles I. Two of these were by John Milton. One the "Eiconoclastes, in answer to Eikon Basilike," published in 1640; the second the "Defense of the People of England," "Contra Claudii Salmasii Defensionem regiam" was issued in 1650. The third work

was by John Goodwin, entitled "Ubristodikœi," "The Obstructors of Justice, or a defense of the honorable sentence passed upon the late King by the high court of justice, 1649." A royal proclamation, on the 13th of August, ordered the suppression of these books. August 27th following, being Assize day, many copies had been brought to the sheriffs, and were then burned.

Proclamation concerning Milton and Goodwin. Milton's biographers speak of the lenity of the King to the poet; but mention the order issued for the seizure and suppression of two of his books. In 1797 a copy of the proclamation was discovered, and is much more severe in its terms than was supposed. It is as follows:—

"By the King.

"A Proclamation for calling in and suppressing two books, written by John Milton, the one intituled *Johannis Miltoni, Angli pro Populo Anglicano Defensio contra Claudii Anonymi, alias Salmasii, Defensionem Regiam*; and the other in answer to a book intituled, *The Portraiture of his Sacred Majestie in his Solitudes and Sufferings*; and also a third book intituled, "The obstructors of justice," written by John Goodwin.

"Charles R.

"Whereas, John Milton, late of Westminster, in the county of Middlesex, hath published in print two several books, the one intituled, *Johannis Miltoni, Angli pro Populo Anglicano Defensio, contra Claudii Anonymi, alias Salmasii, Defensionem Regiam*; and the other in an answer to a book intituled, *The Portraiture of his Sacred Majestie in his Solitudes and Sufferings*;—in both which are contained sundry treasonable passages against us and our government, and impious endeavors to justify the horrid and unmatchable murder of our late dear father of glorious memory and, whereas, John Goodwin, late of

Coleman street, London, clerk, hath also published in print a book intituled, *The Obstructors of Justice*, written in defense of the traitorous sentence against his late Majesty. And, whereas, the said John Milton and John Goodwin are both fled, or so obscure themselves, that no endeavors used for their apprehension can take effect, whereby they might be brought to legal trial, and deservedly receive condign punishment for their treasons and offences; now to the end that our good subjects may not be corrupted in their judgments with such wicked and traitorous principles as are dispersed and scattered throughout the before mentioned books; we, upon the motion of the Commons in parliament now assembled, do hereby strictly charge and command all and every person and persons whatsoever, who live in any city, borough or town incorporate within this our Kingdom of England, the dominion of Wales, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed, in whose hands any of these books are or hereafter shall be, that they upon pain of our high displeasure, and the consequence thereof, do forthwith upon publication of this our command, or within ten days immediately following, deliver or cause the same to be delivered to the mayor, bailiff, or other chief officer or magistrate in any of the said cities, boroughs, or towns incorporate, where such person or persons so live; or if living out of any city, borough, or town incorporate, then to the next justice of the peace adjoining to his or their dwelling or place of abode; or if living in either of our universities then to the vice chancellor of that university where he or they do reside.

“And in default of such voluntary delivery, which we expect in observance of our said command, that then and after the time before limited is expired, the said chief magistrate of all the said cities, boroughs, or towns incor-

porate, and the justices of the peace in their several counties, and the vice chancellors of our said universities respectively, are hereby commanded to seize and take all and every the books aforesaid, in whose hands or possession soever they shall be found, and certify the names of the offenders unto our privy council. And we do hereby also give special charge and command to the said chief magistrates, justices of the peace, and vice chancellors respectively, that they cause the said books which shall be so brought into any of their hands, or seized or taken as aforesaid, by virtue of this our proclamation, to be delivered to the respective sheriffs of those counties where they respectively live, the first and next assizes that shall after happen. And the said sheriffs are hereby also required in time of holding such assizes, to cause the same to be publicly burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

"And we do further strictly charge and command that no man hereafter presume to print, vend, sell, or disperse any of the aforesaid books, upon pain of our heavy displeasure, and of such further punishment as for their presumption in that behalf may any way be inflicted upon them by the laws of this realm."

"Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 13th of August, in the twelfth year of our reign, 1672."

By order of James II, Claude's account of the massacre of St. Bartholomew was burned at the exchange to gratify the French ambassador. Baxter's "Holy Commonwealth" was also burned at Oxford, in 1688.

Indeed James had no sooner ascended the throne of England than he made his reign notorious by an attack upon the liberty of the press. On the 21st of May, 1685, just three months after his accession, he issued an order to the stationers' company, by Sir Roger L'Estrange, the

censor of the press. In this document, after alluding to what he was pleased to denounce as the scandalous and intolerable licentiousness of the press, he declares the control of it to be a prerogative indispensable to the sovereignty of the crown, and in the exercise of that prerogative, he issued the following order:

I. That all books of and concerning the common laws of the realm are to be licensed by the lord chancellor, the lord keeper of the great seal of England, the lords chief justices, chief baron, or one or more of them, or by their or one or more of their appointments.

II. That all books of history, and books concerning the state of the realm, or other books concerning any affairs of state, or history whatsoever, are to be licensed by his majesty's principal secretaries of state for the time being, or one of them, or by their or one of their appointments.

III. That all books concerning heraldry, titles of honor, and arms, or otherwise concerning the office of earl marshal, are to be licensed by the earl marshal for the time being or by one of his appointments.

IV. That all books of divinity, physic, philosophy, arts and sciences, be licensed and allowed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London for the time being, or by one or more of their appointments, or by either of the chancellors or vice chancellors of the two universities for the time being; the said chancellors and vice-chancellors, however, only having the power to license such books as are to be imprinted or reprinted within the limits of the said universities respectively, but not in London or elsewhere.

V. That with respect to such miscellaneous books and papers as shall not properly fall under any of the above, they be subjected to the censure of the surveyor

of the press for the time being, or such of his deputies as shall by him, the said surveyor be thereunto authorized and appointed."

The Stationers' Company were commanded to see this order strictly carried into effect, and to take special care that no book should be entered or published at their hall without such license first obtained.

The year 1690 witnessed an exhibition of censorial severity at Oxford.

Dr. Bury, Rector of Exeter College, published a work entitled "An Historical Evidence of the Naked Gospel," in which supposed Socinianism was advocated. A meeting was held by the principals of houses, and a committee nominated to examine and report on the "Historical Evidence." Sufficient proof was discovered of statements not sustained in the doctrine of the Church of England. August 19th the book was burned in the school quadrangle. The author was temporarily suspended from the rectorship by Trelawney, bishop of Exeter.

In 1693, Charles Blount's book entitled "King William and Queen Mary Conquerors" was hastily condemned to be burned by order of parliament, and in the same year bishop Burnet's address to his clergy was likewise ordered, burned by the hangman. Another pamphlet by Blount "Reasons for liberty of unlicensed printing" was also condemned to be burnt by the hangman.

Burnet's address was ordered destroyed by a majority of 7 in a house of 317 members. The sentiment that gave offense to the parliamentary leaders was the ascription of William's title to the right of conquest. The Whigs who had invited William were offended at the

suggestion that he had conquered them. The pastoral address circulated freely.

In the same year, 1693, the second volume of Wood's "Athenæ Oxonienses" was burned in the theatre yard by the apparitor of the University who officiated as hangman on the occasion. A supposed libel against the Earl of Clarendon was sufficient to move the University Court to pronounce condemnation.

In 1702, Daniel Defoe's "Shortest way with Dissenters" was burned by order of the House of Commons. Although a satire in admirable irony throughout, yet the object was too much obscured by the caution of the author. Hence the book was misunderstood, and all parties alike were mystified for some time. The author was prosecuted for libel, condemned to pay a fine of 200 marks, to stand three times in the pillory, to be imprisoned during the Queen's pleasure, and to find securities for good behaviour. Perhaps worst of all, the author of "Robinson Crusoe" was made the butt of the ribald malice of so scurrilous a lampooner as Swift. That was the lowest humiliation. The book was burned by the hangman in New Palace Yard.

In the same year the Scottish parliament adopted the same fashion. One of the most daring and unfortunate writers of that time was Dr. James Drake, a clever partisan Tory. He was constantly pursued, and generally eluded his pursuers. Once he was saved by the word "nor" in an indictment instead of the word "not." His manuscripts were forwarded to the printer by means of a masked lady, who took care not to allow her identity to be discovered. Dr. Drake wrote a book entitled "Historia Angloscotica, or an impartial history of all that happened between the Kings and Kingdoms of England and Scotland from William the Conqueror to Queen Eliz-

abeth." This book was declared to contain many statements injurious to the Scottish nation, crown and dignity, and was burned by the hangman at the Mercat Cross, Edinburg. Another work by Dr. Drake "Memorials of the Church of England," was censured from the throne, and by an order of the House of Commons, burned at the Royal Exchange. Eventually Drake died a raving maniac.

In 1705 Scottish sensitiveness was grievously afflicted by a work entitled "The superiority and direct domination of the Imperial Crown of England over the Crown and Kingdom of Scotland." It was consigned to the hangman by the Scots parliament. In the same year much public effervescence was created by a pamphlet called "The Memorial of the Church of England humbly offered to the consideration of all true lovers of our Church and Communion." The name of the author was not published. This pamphlet was alluded to in the royal speech: both houses requested the queen to punish the author, and the grand jury of Middlesex condemned the book to be burned before the court, and again before the Royal Exchange, and in Palace Yard. A reward of £1,000 was offered for the apprehension of the author. All that could be elicited was that two women, one of them masked, brought the manuscripts to David Edwards, the printer, with directions to print 350 copies. These were delivered to four persons sent to receive them. Every copy of this pamphlet that could be got hold of was destroyed. It was afterward reprinted in Dublin, and audaciously dedicated to the Lord Lieutenant. That edition was totally destroyed.

At the opening of the eighteenth century the turbulent asperity of party politics both in church and state exceeded all decency. The social and religious agita-

tions of the revolution had not subsided, and one of the clergy greatly increased the existing bitterness. When the indiscreet zeal of a preacher is stimulated by the prospect of money and preferment no severity of language or of sentiment will restrain his cupidity. If the court, or the chief authority under any other appellation, be willing to recompense the advocacy of certain principles, very divine and inspired arguments can always be presented in support of the favored doctrines. High church or low church sentiments are too often associated with the fashionable credence of the hour. Not much dexterity is required to meet the public taste; and when the dignity first aspired to has been reached, not much compunction is ever exhibited in effecting a complete change of doctrine if the atmosphere of the high place, or the popularity loved by the preacher be more in accordance with the alteration.

Among the college dons of Oxford, Dr. H. Sacheverell was one of the most conspicuous, 1705-1709. He was fellow and tutor of Magdalen college, and a "friend and colleague" of Addison. He became preacher of St. Saviour's, Southwark. August 14th, 1709, he preached a sermon at Derby, and November 9th following, another sermon at St. Paul's, on "Perils among false brethren." These discourses attracted attention, and created strong contention. They discussed the existing political situation, the late revolution, the succession, and other similar topics. They were at once irritating high church and high tory. A political divine is clearly a candidate for recognition as an aspirant to official station. His aim is to please the powers that be. In the case of Dr. Sacheverell there were, unfortunately for him, two "powers that be," and neither of these powers was then strong enough either to reward or to crush him. He was tried

for "scandalous and malicious libels" against the queen and the government, and the protestant succession. February 17, 1710, Westminster hall beheld both houses assembled to take part in the proceedings. The Commons on one side, the ladies on the other, and the lords in the center of the hall. Sacheverell was condemned to be suspended for three years; but the small majority of six was a virtual triumph. The sermons were condemned to the flames, and at the same time was burned a decree of the university of Oxford, passed in July, 1683, maintaining the absolute authority of princes. Sacheverell had referred to this decree for justification of his positions. The crime in the eyes of politicians committed by the preacher clearly was the total denial of the rights of the nation at large to control its own political destinies. If the political requirements of a country, its economy, and all that constitutes its wealth, independence and greatness are to be dependent on the "decree of a university," there is necessarily an end of political discussion outside university chambers. The minds of churchmen at that date, and at this day also, are formed by the lucubrations of sentimental thinkers in schools rather than on the practical and broad principles which are at once christianity and patriotism. No nation ever was or can be built up on the sentiments of the cloister. Cosimo de Medici was right; "You cannot govern by paternosters."

In 1723 a prominent physician named Dr. Mead purchased from the Landgrave of Hesse a copy of the "Christianismi Restitutio" of Servetus. This copy was reputed to have belonged to Colodon, one of the unhappy man's accusers. Dr. Mead took measures to publish the work in quarto; but before the completion the sheets were seized by order of Dr. Gibson, bishop of London, and

burned, May 27. One copy that escaped is now in the library of the Medical Society of London. In 1770 a reprint was issued, but was all destroyed except a very few copies. Dr. Mead's volume found its way into the collection of the Duc de la Valliere; and at the sale of this library was purchased for the imperial library of France.

The close of the seven years' war in 1763 was marked in England by the manifestation of strong democratic public feeling. The tendency toward investigation of public affairs by the people at large was first encouraged and then fostered by the famous publication called "The North Briton," edited by John Wilkes and Charles Churchill. Popular voice had become so potent that this virulent publication was unopposed in its abuse of Lord Bute until its forty-fifth number. The assistance lent to Frederic in the seven years' war by England was so contemptible that it resembled an embarrassment rather than an alliance. Frederic did the fighting and gained the ultimate triumph himself. But the pompous vanity of Lord Bute attempted to blind public perception by a few false and high-sounding phrases in the King's speech. His majesty was made to say that "the success which has attended my negotiations has necessarily and immediately diffused the blessings of peace through every part of Europe." This vaunting assertion of his own skill and puissance in negotiation, in opposition to the notorious facts, was necessarily the subject of a sharp diatribe in the North Briton. "The infamous fallacy of the whole sentence," said Wilkes, "is apparent to all mankind; for it is known that the King of Prussia did not only approve, but actually dictated, as conqueror, every article of the terms of peace. No advantage of any kind has accrued to the magnanimous prince from our nego-

tiations, but he was basely deserted by the Scottish prime minister of England." Wilkes was arrested, expelled from the House of Commons, and the North Briton's forty-fifth number was burned by the hangman at the Royal Exchange, December 3d, 1763.

The following year the House of Lords condemned a book of the opposite principles, that it might hang the other side of the political saddle as a balance, like the cheese and the ham of the Scotch preacher whom dean Ramsey tells of. This book was entitled in barbarous Norman French "Droit le Roy," and was a kind of digest of the asserted prerogatives of the crown. The book was voted by the peers to be "a false, malicious, and traitorous libel, inconsistent with the principles of the Revolution." It was ordered to be burned by the hangman. The author was a member of Lincoln's Inn, and was probably in search of preferment in lieu of briefs.

An anonymous book entitled "The Commercial Restraints of Ireland Considered," published in Dublin in 1779, and supposed to have been written by Hon. Hely Hutchinson, was consigned to the hangman. Scarcely a copy is known to exist.

PEIRESC—NICHOLAS CLAUDE TABRI DE

17TH CENTURY

This illustrious savant was a native of Beaugensier in Provence, and born in 1580. Possessed of an ample fortune he devoted his talents and tastes not only to literature and philosophy, but to the introduction into his

native country of those products of foreign soil that might be acclimatized and rendered generally useful. He cultivated the society of scholars of all nations, and possessed an ardent mind. His researches extended through all branches of knowledge and learning; and he spared no expenditure to promote the studies and interests of learned men. While enjoying the confidence of his fellow-citizens as councillor in the parliament of Aix, he was esteemed among literati abroad for his large intelligence, and independent cultivation of science. His travels introduced him personally to the learned world of Holland, England and Italy. In association with the illustrious Gassendi he pursued the astronomical researches which rendered this savant renowned. His collections of medals and objects of art were extensive and well chosen. Botany was a favorite study, and the importation of the jessamine of India and America, the Persian lilac, the rose laurel, the flowering myrtle, and several other plants, was due to his activity and liberality. Even Angora cats did not escape his taste for importations. His correspondence with members of the learned world was universal; and he was styled by Bayle "The Attorney General of Literature." At his death in 1637 the great treasure of his correspondence, no doubt loosely amassed, and possibly in heaps and confusion, fell into the hands of his niece. This lady, mindful more of her housekeeping neatnesses than of literary treasures, and perhaps long annoyed by the mass of papers accumulated by her philosophical uncle that sorely tried her temper in efforts to "arrange his room," was enabled to exercise full control over the entire mass when the great mind was withdrawn. The papers were found so useful for kindling fires that the lady refused to permit them to be removed; and the greater number went the way of the

manuscripts of Alexandria and many other manuscripts before and since. A few escaped, and were published in 1819.

LONDON

THE GORDON RIOTS—LORD MANSFIELD—DR. PRIESTLEY

A. D. 1780.

The destruction of Lord Mansfield's library in 1780 deserves an extended notice. William Murray, eleventh child of David, Viscount Stormont, was called to the bar at Michaelmas term 1730. Very liberally endowed with natural talents, he was poor in money. His means at the commencement of his professional career were so limited that he was accustomed to dine with Horne Took, and Lloyd, afterward Lord Kenyon, "at seven pence half penny a head." Murray's general as well as professional education had been exceedingly liberal. It was deep and broad. Twelve years were passed in London, of which three were at the King's School at Westminster. Here the boy was distinguished equally for lively wit, close attention to classical studies, high abilities, and broad Scotch accent which he never wholly lost. In his exercises at poetry and declamation he gave evidence of future forensic talent, and strength and readiness in debate. Young Murray stood first at Oxford on matriculation. In the university he acquired distinction for general scholarship, especially by a Latin oration on the "De Corona" of Demosthenes. Six years of preparatory drudgery in penury and obscurity served only to impress still more profoundly on Murray's mind

the fundamental principles of law. The profession of the lawyer was not then what it has since become, in too many places, a shallow pretense of legal acquirement by which fools can impose on the ignorant by a few elementary phrases, and even acquire fame for borrowing commonplace decisions from the reports of judges, and reciting both as principles and precedents. The profession of the law was founded on the most stable and profound principles of jurisprudence as laid down in immortal treatises by ancient and modern sages, and expressed in language of divine strength and beauty by masters of legal truth from Papinian and Gaius through an unbroken series of Prætors, Dativi, Defensores, Tabelliones, Vicarii, Scabini, Jurisconsulti, down to Irnerius, Peter Lombart, Gratian, Peter Comestor, Vicarius, Placentius, Azonius, Accursius, Aldricus, Richard the Englishman, William of Dorreda, Thaddæus of Suessa, Peter de Vineis, Baldus, Paul de Castro, Duarenus, Du Moulin, Baldwinus, Cujacius, down to Coke, and thence to Hardwicke, and many other lights who illumined larger or more contracted society during the middle ages. The lawyer,—as Murray accepted the term,—was a man who understood legal truth in its own necessary relations, and according to its own logical developments, and not as laid down in special instances in this decision or that. A lawyer, too, in Murray's view, was a man of wide culture, and enlarged mind. He was a historian, a philosopher, and a logician. He could drink of the fountain head of learned lore in the very linguistic stream in which the lore flowed down the centuries. He could discourse with the Pandects and Institutes in the tongue of their authors and compilers, and he could hold familiar converse with Pericles, and Plato, and Demosthenes in the language of those great authors. He knew that the

"Commune vinculum" "between all branches of learning preserves the habits of application, of thinking and of judging." He knew that all men eminent in any one branch of knowledge have been persons of large general culture in other branches also; for all knowledge is necessarily associated, and no one study is independent of others. The relations between sciences are so intimate that no one of them can be understood without a comprehension of the principles of the others allied to it. Hence Murray acquired knowledge in every department. Like Chancellor D'Aguesseau, Du Moulin, Lord Bacon, Selden, Somers, Camden, Coke, Marshall, and many others, Murray knew that a sound judgment depends on extensive comparison. Hence he searched deeply into the principles of the Civil Law of Rome, and of the Common Law of England. Murray's eventual success at the bar almost forced him into public life, and he speedily became an advocate of government policy in the House of Commons. Here were spent long years of contention; and although the duties were ably and faithfully performed they were not to Murray's taste. His mind was eminently judicial, and he coveted the position most congenial to him. He desired to acquire distinction, even fame, as a great judge. He felt his own powers, he knew his own acquirements which were then much needed on the bench, and he aspired to the noble enterprise of fixing in orderly and permanent form the principles and the administration of the Common Law. The retirement of Lord Hardwicke from the King's bench afforded the long desired opportunity, and William Murray became Lord Chief Justice Mansfield.

During the entire period of his professional and public career Lord Mansfield had been diligent as a collector of books and manuscripts. His library was large and

valuable. It was rich in the learning of the great masters who builded broad and deep on the foundation of right and of reason, in opposition to superstitious delusion, and foolish dogma unproved and unprovable. His transcendent abilities and learning on the bench speedily established his reputation. He was what he had aspired to be, a great judge. The man who said, "I will not avoid doing what I think right, though it should draw on me the whole artillery of libels, all that falsehood and malice can invent, or the credulity of a deluded populace can swallow." * * "The last end that happens to any man never comes too soon if he falls in support of the law and the liberty of his country, for liberty is synonymous with law and government," must have been an upright magistrate,—a great magistrate if his principles and his learning corresponded with his conscientiousness. In Lord Mansfield both conditions were united. But popular feeling, while its intuitions are often correct and take the tendency of humanity, does not usually distinguish the unwisdom of the means it employs. The immediate occasion of Lord Mansfield's loss of popularity with the masses was his decision in the case of Woodfall, the printer of Junius' alleged libel against the king. That decision has wrought a revolution in the law of libel and makes juries now the judges of the law as well as of the facts. Junius warmly controverted the judge's doctrine, maintaining that it must destroy the rights of juries, and, eventually, the liberty of the press itself. Public feeling was aroused: "the rights of the people" were supposed to be endangered by this decision, and still more by the proposed catholic toleration. Riots occurred in many parts of the country. In London the "Lord George Gordon mob" committed great excesses. Lord Mansfield's mansion in the sedate quarter of Blooms-

bury square was utterly demolished; all his books and manuscripts committed to the flames, as well as his pictures, while the judge himself narrowly escaped by a postern. Such was the melancholy fate of a great library. The only comparatively quieting thought connected with this calamity is that the mischief was not wrought by the cold-blooded decision of a conclave or a council, an inquisitorial tribunal, or an ecclesiastical "Vehm Gericht." It was the mad act of a mob, and no beast is so savagely unreasoning as a mob can be. The only fiend that is more inhuman than a mob is an inquisitor, or a dynamite conspirator.

In the broad sense the value of Lord Mansfield's life arises as much from the mistakes into which he was urged by antiquated precedents, as from the valuable legal principles which he propounded. We shall next meet an example of usefulness from the expression of truths not then appreciated, but of wide and revolutionary comprehensiveness in science and society; truths too profound in themselves, and too much opposed to the unnatural limitations imposed on thought and feeling by party fixedness, to be popular at the time, although now the basis of social action in every intelligent community.

BIRMINGHAM

THE MOB—JOSEPH PRIESTLEY—A. D. 1791

England first and the scientific world next have the right to be proud of Joseph Priestley. It is to such men as he that the world owes all that it has that is worth living for; and it is to such men as he that mankind owe

their emancipation, partial though it be as yet, from the fury of their own fanaticism.

Of sturdy and solid Yorkshire stock, born near Leeds, in 1733, young Priestley early exhibited his reasoning temper and independent judgment among the professors at the academy of Daventry. His was that temper which is not satisfied with faith, but requires proofs. It is that temper that has created science both in ancient and modern times. This temper is the result of natural faculties and tendencies, and cannot be quieted or laid aside even by the possessor of it. So diligent was young Priestley in study, and so strong and varied were his talents, that at the age of twenty-eight he was not "tutor in languages," but lecturer in Greek, Latin, French, Italian, Theory of Language, Grammar, Oratory, Philosophical Criticism, and Civil Law. His strong tendency toward natural philosophy was greatly encouraged by an acquaintance with Dr. Franklin; and Priestley progressed so rapidly in the knowledge of physical science that his "History of Electricity," published in 1767, met much success. The Copley medal, awarded by the Royal Society for a series of observations indicating much industry and ability embodied, entitled "Observations on Different kinds of Air," which led to the discovery of oxygen, was the next distinction honorably won by the young student. A proposal to Priestley to accompany Captain Cook on his second voyage indicated public appreciation of Priestley's attainments; but some divines on the Board of Longitude prevented the appointment on the ground of "religious principles." Seven years' companionship with Lord Shelburne introduced Priestley to men of scholarship in England and abroad; but the publication of his "Disquisitions Relating to Matter and Spirit," led to the discontinuance of that

relation, although the kindest feelings on both sides always subsisted. About 1780, Priestley settled in Birmingham, became pastor of a large congregation, a member of the "Lunar Society," and a familiar and honored associate of Watt, Wedgwood, Darwin, and Boulton. His appearance at that time is described by Mrs. Mary Schimmelpenninck as "a man of admirable simplicity, gentleness and kindness of heart, united with great acuteness of intellect. I can never forget the impression produced on me by the serene expression of his countenance."

While Priestley's discovery of "a large number of new and fundamentally important facts" entitles him to high rank among men of science, it did not shield him from popular hatred. The man who did more than any other man of his day to enlarge the circle of means for multiplying scientific industries, and thus of providing employment and wealth for artisans and workmen of all ranks, and thus also of supplying those surplus stores of wealth that can be expended on charity and religion which are both absolutely dependent on science and industry for the means of material usefulness, the man who labored thus for the direct benefit of the great masses socially, and of the church and the state likewise, with greater ardor and success in certain lines than any other man then living, was bitterly hated by the chief beneficiaries of his efforts. Party spirit ran high, and public feeling became violent. The public journals assailed Priestley as "an unbeliever, and little better than an atheist." "On the walls of houses, etc., and especially where I usually went," he says himself in his "Appeal to the Public," "were to be seen in large characters, 'MADAN FOR EVER;' 'Damn Priestley'; 'No Presbyterianism'; 'Damn the Presbyterians,' and at one time I was followed by a num-

ber of boys, who left their play, repeating what they had seen on the walls and shouting out 'Damn Priestley, damn him, damn him, for ever, for ever,' etc., etc. This was not a lesson which they had been taught by their parents, and what they, I fear, had learned from their superiors."

The virulence of ecclesiastical mediævalism still echoed the false cry of sedition, in order to shelter its own intolerance beneath the "civil power" as of old. Priestley and his friends were denounced as fomenters of sedition. The "church and king" cry was artfully raised to excite passion on the plea of patriotism. The celebration,—July 14th, 1791,—of the second anniversary of the taking of the Bastille afforded the occasion for popular wrath; and during three days Birmingham was the scene of destructive turbulence. The town was abandoned to the rioters. The chapels and houses of prominent dissenters were demolished. Priestley and his family were compelled to flee for life: and library, apparatus, papers, manuscripts, and all the accumulated treasures of many years of devoted scientific labor were consigned to the flames.

The philosopher endured these outrages with calmness, although they must have crushed his heart. Even Mrs. Priestley, in writing to Mrs. Barbauld, abstains from all asperity, although she might justly have complained of the total destruction of her household, and gently says, they "will scarcely find so many respectable characters a second time to make a bonfire of."

Oppressed and persecuted at home, Dr. Priestley migrated to America in 1794, at the age of sixty-one. He devoted himself to chemical and theological studies at Northumberland in Pennsylvania, where his descendants still reside.

Since that date another public literary calamity has

befallen Birmingham in the burning of the public library in 1877, through the carelessness, or the connivance of two plumbers set to mend the pipes in the basement. Englishmen are far too careless about the protection of public property. Since the old conspiring element has mingled not only in her social life, but her public counsels, the peril has been much augmented.

PARIS

THE REIGN OF TERROR

The French revolutionists of '1789 did not much concern themselves with a war against literature. They had more urgent enemies to resist than quiet, silent, gentle books. The rage of the people was directed against ancient systems, and pestilent bigotries, but not against thought or the fruit of thought. They did not stultify themselves in France by inaugurating an era of the rights of man, an epoch of the divinity of Reason, by an onslaught against the first evidences of reason, the works of laborious study. Princes, nobles and monastic orders felt the fury of popular emancipation suddenly snatched, and very large collections of books were publicly seized and confiscated. But no furious bigots danced around autos da fe of literature. No Ximenes in the convention collected vast heaps of books in a public square and burned them to ashes. On the contrary, commissions were issued to collect the libraries of the dissolved monasteries. The stores thus accumulated, from churches, corporations and wealthy persons who had either perished or been driven into exile, were enormous. For these books repositories were created, until they could be

classified and distributed through the cities and provinces according to local wants. But the peril to the nation impeded this slow process, and much injury resulted from confusion and rough handling.

But there was a point of contact between the revolution and books; and that point consisted of the royal emblems, fleurs de lis, armorial bearings, and prefaces and dedications to kings and nobles. A decree was drawn up during the ascendancy of Robespierre that "the books in the public libraries of Paris could not be permitted to offend the eyes of republicans by shameful marks of servitude, and that all such marks must be removed."

In 1793 Hubert Pascal Ameilhon was named as "Commissioner for the Examination of Patents of Nobility"; and the spirit of his instructions seems to have included the destruction of offending books. In his report to the Attorney General for the Department of Paris, he said, "I am instructed to inform you that the commission for examining the documents in the 'Cabinet of the late King's orders,' are ready to deliver to the commissaries of the department two hundred and seventy volumes and cartons which remain to be destroyed." In another report he said: "I send you an account of the various articles which remain to be burned, including one hundred and twenty-eight bound volumes, and thirty-four boxes containing papers relating to the order of the Holy Ghost, and other orders; thirty-four volumes of papers from which was compiled the *Armoriale Generale de la France*; one hundred and sixty-six volumes of the "*Le Laboureur*" Collection," and two volumes of writs of nobility."

Scant ceremony was sometimes allowed for the evacuation of the suppressed religious houses. Pache ordered the great library of the abbey of St. Victor, the first ever

opened to the public in France, to be vacated in three hours. At the end of that time all the books that remained were to be thrown out of the window. But the books were saved by Ameilhon who obtained a substitution of three days for three hours; and then collecting all the volumes procurable he transferred the books to a neighboring hospital.

Many years elapsed before all this vast accumulation of books could be even counted, much less catalogued and stamped. But the accession to the national library of France from this source amounts to about 250,000 volumes.

ENGLAND

MODERN CHURCH LIBRARIES

The warmth of polemical contention, the rage of persecution, and the miseries of war during the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries prevented the permanent accumulation of books in libraries for the use of the general public as we have seen. Much reproach has been flung against the reformers because greater stability to public literary institutions, and the establishment of classical learning were not secured by them for their own times. It is not very easy to accumulate libraries in the midst of St. Bartholomews, or schools for Hebrew in the presence of Armadas. Men compelled to fight for existence can hardly be expected to occupy themselves at the moment with dialectics, and dungeons are not suitable academies for the culture of Greek roots. Amid such scenes indeed history is made, and not only inculcated but stamped deep into men's souls and mem-

ories. But the pupils can scarcely thank their instructors under the circumstances. The strife of revolutions leaves little leisure for anything but fundamentals; and during the Reformation the foundations of progress in literature, science, art and government were laid strong and deep. The glorious superstructure was added when the skies became more serene. Progress in the more sensitive and delicate acquirements is necessarily impeded by the rude science of war, an occupation wherein the rough fellows are the best. But the strong nations that have cultivated war with most potent prowess have always fostered letters with the greatest taste and earnestness also. The literature of old Rome gave her a pre-eminence in knowledge which placed the world at her feet. The ignorant superstition of modern Rome has spread a pall of death over the ancient provinces. She is incapable of building up a state or of consolidating a nation. Her chief efforts are directed to insidious attempts to disunite and disorganize those nations that have grown strong on their hostility, and their contempt of her. Since modern countries have solidified themselves, and begun to pursue their avocations in tolerable security, and with new ideas of mutual respect, literature has blossomed forth until its radiance shines through a palace of wonders. England, Germany, the United States, the Scandinavian nations, France, have set an example of the devotion of noble minds to literature which has filled them with glory. An observer in the spirit land, if there be such, and he be gifted with those spiritual perceptions that such denizens have laid to their credit, gazing with purified soul, and clarified mentality toward this our earth would not, and could not regard the gross material things of terrestrial life. Much less could his sanctified vision occupy its celestial dig-

nity and purity with such contemptible trifles as slates and tables, cabinets and banjos. But his view would be clear for the radiance of literary intellectual life that beams from the souls of persons illuminated by its electric activities; and that illumination is a steady radiance that makes this earth shine like a star indeed in the eyes of the beatified. The carnal impostures that are too often mingled with this radiance are but the Fraunhofer lines that exhibit the dark shades in the spectrum of literary illumination. That is what sanctified perception means,—or something like that, if it means anything at all.

During the progress of the reformation which continued for three centuries, the refreshing novelty and sweetness of Scripture, and the sacredness of its aims, incitements, and sanctions created an enthusiasm for its acquisition and comprehension that long excluded all other studies. It spoke to the hopes, the affections, and —what is most loved and probed by mankind—the future of every individual. It professed to enlighten men on those mighty problems,—whence they come, what they have to do, and whither they are going. In presence of these absorbing themes Homer and Cicero, and Pericles and Plato became empty declaimers. Companionship with Horace was vulgar to a person who held communion with the saints; the picture poetry of Homer conjured up only scenes of grossness to a mind that perceived visions in heaven; and the republic of Plato was a sordid and a base condition to one who aspired to a place in the City of God, at the very right hand of the Supreme. So intense was this devotion to the reading of the Scriptures that no tortures and no tyrannies could deter men from the study of them. Readers rejoiced in them, and printers braved death in the publication of them. Trans-

lators hid themselves in garrets, and starved in exile through love of what they deemed the sacred word. Every minute particle was examined lest any error should mar the purity of the holy text, or mislead a saint on the path to heaven. People flocked in crowds to hear Bibles read,—Bibles chained to desks lest overzealous students should abstract a volume precious to multitudes and devoted to public use. The best readers were selected to give proper tone to the divine message. Other books were added, such as Erasmus' Paraphrase of the New Testament, the Bishop's Book, or the Institution of a Christian Man. This reading aloud was often forbidden and many martyrs died for attending it,—Anne Askew and others. Certain translations and editions were next forbidden, as the Bible in some form could not be suppressed. Restrictions as to age, sex and rank were next imposed. Under Mary the very possession of a Bible was death by martial law, under the proclamations of June 14, 1555, and June 6, 1558.

Wherever the devotional feeling comes into collision with the literary, the former always gains precedence in ordinary minds. Politically, perhaps, it is well that it does so. But without the balancing power of practical sense and temporal knowledge, devotion becomes a blind appeal to an overwrought imagination; and thus always degenerates into foolish and morbid superstition. But there is some danger that provision of books may not be appreciated where the surroundings are chiefly calculated to compel exclusive attention to coarse employments necessary for daily bread. The result of this condition of things is not so violently destructive of literature as the calculated vandalism that desolated the world during many centuries; but it often practically deprives a people of books with about equally bad effects. Individuals do

indeed derive benefit and pleasure from the presence and life of scientific ideas outside their circle, as would be the case probably if learned books were only in the hands of a few elect. But still neglect is almost as bad locally as destruction. Many collections of books have suffered in this way. In England, as elsewhere, a tendency of this kind has been exhibited in many instances chiefly the result of that spirit of class distinction which seeks to render one rank dependent servants of another by depriving them of intellectual activity.

To the enlightened public spirit and civic patriotism of Thomas Cromwell, and of Cranmer, is due the system of creating depositories of books for common use throughout the counties and towns of England. Their primary aim was the establishment of the new principles both in religion and politics. Their object was to enlighten the masses of their countrymen. Their principles were adopted by many generous benefactors. The persecutions of Mary Tudor, the perilous days of Elizabeth, the stormy period of Charles I. and Cromwell, the loathsome corruptions of their immediate successor, who ought not to be named in decent society, the tyranny of James, were all unfavorable to the quiet growth and diffusion of literary appliances through the remoter districts. Both Cromwell and Cranmer experienced much difficulty in overcoming the repugnance of Henry VIII. to the presence and the lection of Bibles in churches. True it is that the king roundly declared to the bishops that if Tyndale's translation was bad they must make a better one. But they all evaded the duty, well knowing that the example of Bible burning already set by Woolsey in the case of Tyndale's book itself was a loud hint to them of the position they must take in regard to it. In 1537 Cranmer was earnestly requested by Grafton, the pub-

lisher, to obtain from the king permission for every curate to possess a Bible, and for the deposit of six in every abbey. Cranmer requested Cromwell to use his influence with the king, and "exhibit the books unto the king's highness, and to obtain of his Grace, if you can, a license that the same may be sold and read of every person without danger of any Act, Proclamation, or Ordinance to the contrary, until such time that we, the bishops, shall set forth a better translation, which I think will not be till a day after Doomsday." In September of the same year an ordinance was published substantially inaugurating the system of modern parish libraries. "Ye shall provide a book of the whole Bible of the largest volume, in English, and the same set up in some convenient place within the said church that ye have cure, where your parishioners may the most commodiously resort to the same and read it; the charges of which book shall be rateably borne between you, the parson, and the parishioners aforesaid."

A century of rude disquiet, both at home and abroad, interfered sadly with the growth of the plant thus nourished into life. But in the seventeenth century many benefactors carried out the plans of Cranmer with generous foresight.

In Kidderminster in 1631-2, by will of Sir John Kidderminster, provision was made for a library to the value of twenty pounds. The books thus procured consisted of Greek and Latin fathers, and works on the Reformation. They were deposited in a spare room attached to the church. Another library of this character was provided by the will of Humphrey Chetham, of Manchester, in 1651. "Also I do hereby give and bequeathe the sum of two hundred pounds to be bestowed by my executors in godly English books, such as Calvin's, Preston's, and Perkins' works,

comments and annotations of the Bible, or some parts thereof, or such other books as they shall think most proper for the edification of the common people, to be chained on desks, or in other convenient places in the parish churches of Manchester, Bolton in the Moors, and in the chapels of Turton, Walmsley, and Gorton, in the county of Lancaster, within one year after my decease." The library thus formed consisted of solid divinity of the thorough reformation sort. Baxter, Burroughs, Calvin, Cartwright, Chillingworth, Foxe, Jewell, Peter Martyr, Reynolds, Ussher, and others of the same stamp were all there. There were also Knox's Reformation in Scotland, Luther's Table Talk, and Father Paul Sarpi's very valuable History of the Council of Trent, which was supposed to have been obtained from Venice, and introduced into England through the efforts of De Dominis, archbishop of Spalatro, already noticed. These books were preserved in five oak cases, some of which still exist, perhaps all of them, and inscribed "The gift of Humphrey Chetham, Esquire, 1655." But, alas, this provision and generosity did not supply the place of watchfulness on the part of the beneficiaries. The books at Bolton and Walmsley were neglected and utterly lost. They are undistinguishable now if any of them remain anywhere. The books at Manchester were well employed, almost worn out in good service. Late in the present century they were disposed of to a dealer, as almost valueless; but some have been recovered and preserved. Halifax church contains an old library contemporary with that just named; Boston, Lincolnshire, another which dates from 1635; Wolton, Warwickshire, still another established in 1645. But all have suffered from long neglect. In the parish of Wisbeach, Sussex, "about the

the encouragement of learning, prepared the chamber over the church porch for the reception of books; and several other gentlemen at the same time liberally contributed both money and books." At Shipdaim, Norfolk, there is an old library. At Beebles in the next county there are old books, one a book of common prayer of Edward VI. But these were all long suffered to fall into a "lamentable condition." Other parochial libraries in England have suffered from similar neglect. At Beebles "a parochial library was for many years deposited in the room over the south entrance of Beebles church. The books consist of old divinity chiefly, and appear to have been gifts from various persons. * * There is a copy of Walton's Polyglot Bible, 1655-7, besides an old volume of the same work (Job to Malachi) uncut, 1656. It is probable that many of the books have been lost, as the room in which they were kept was used as a repository for discarded ecclesiastical appliances, and latterly for charity blankets during summer." (Notes and Q. 1st ser. viii. 62.) "In 1736 a catalogue of the books was taken and printed by the Rev. John Lewis, the compiler of the History and Antiquities of the Isle of Thanet. * * This library" (All Saints Maidstone) "most probably was one of those contemplated by the statute of Anne; but notwithstanding the wise precaution thereby enacted for the preservation of the books, and for the better encouragement of similar benefactions, it would appear, * * that of about eight hundred volumes, which * * constituted the library, no less than one-eighth were missing and decayed." (N. and Q. vi. 1st Ser. 559).

"Let me add to the list of parochial libraries that at Wendlebury, Oxon, about 1760 * *. After many years of sad neglect this library was put into thorough order a few years ago." (N. and Q. vii. 369).

"To your list of parochial libraries may be added one in Swaffham church, Norfolk, bequeathed to the parish by one of the Spelman family. It contains several hundred volumes, and among them some of the Elzevir classics. About seven years ago I visited Swaffham, and found this collection of books in a most disgraceful state, covered with dust, and the dung of mice and bats, and many of the books torn from their bindings. It would afford me great pleasure to hear that more care is taken of such a valuable collection of books." E. G. R. in N. and Q. vii. 438.

In 1635, the "roome over the porche of the said church shall be repaired, and decently fitted up to make a librarye, to the end that in case any well and charitably disposed person shall hereafter bestow any books to the use of the parish, they may be there safely preserved and kept," under instructions from archbishop Laud at the request of the vicar of Boston. In 1853 the library thus established contained several hundred volumes of patristic, scholastic, and post reformation divinity. They were not in "decent keeping," and the Rev. Thomas Collis said: "In making preparations for the catalogue I have been informed by a gentleman that he remembers two or more cart loads of books from this library being sold by the churchwardens, and as he believes by the archdeacon's orders at waste paper price; that the bulk of them was purchased by a bookseller then resident in Boston, and re-sold by him to a clergyman in the neighborhood of Spilsby." N. and Q. vii. 507.

"I fear that there is little doubt that these collections of books have been very often unfairly dispersed. It is by no means uncommon, in looking over the stock of an old divinity bookseller, to meet with works with the names of parochial libraries written in them. I have

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met with many such * * . As a case in point, I recollect about ten years since, being at a sale at the rectory of Reepham, Norfolk, consequent upon the death of the rector, and noticing several works with the inscription "Reepham Church Library" written inside. These were sold indiscriminately with the rector's books." N. and Q. vii. 392.

"In 1849 there were books up and down the country, thousands of books, which have been lying rotting, and have been destroyed and made away with in a great many instances by those who did not know their value."

The writer of these pages has, many times, seen bibles taken from church libraries in Ireland by thievish hands, torn in leaves in the small shops of tobacco and soap venders, and the paper used to fold up small packets of snuff, and to wrap around candles. In that benighted island the Bible has been the object of constant destruction, by burnings in heaps and other methods, during the last three hundred years. And yet that island was among the first to receive, and the most careful to study and preserve the Scriptures in the original Greek. So great is the change since the spirit of Rome was imported chiefly since 1148, A. D.

Here, perhaps, some notice may properly be taken of the vicissitudes that overtook the celebrated library of archbishop Ussher, primate of Ireland and a royalist under Charles I. The primate was a man of profound learning especially in Irish annals. His authority is still accepted as deserving of the highest historical dignity. His eminent scholarship was recognized throughout Europe, and his library was one of the treasures of the literary world. During the reign of Queen Elizabeth, James Ussher was already known as a scholar, and was one of the two commissioners deputed to England by the

royal army to purchase books for the new and struggling university "Sanctæ et Individuæ Trinitatis Juxta Dublin," founded by Elizabeth. After the victory at Kinsale over the Irish and their Spanish allies "That army resolved to do some worthy act that might be a memorial of the gallantry of military men, and of that due respect which they had for true religion and learning. To promote which they raised among themselves eighteen hundred pounds to buy books to furnish the library of the university of Dublin." The civil war found Ussher the owner of a splendid private collection which had cost him a considerable fortune. The success of the parliament had left him little except his books, and these he succeeded in retaining, although, it would appear, with some difficulty. The books lay long exposed to neglect in Dublin Castle; they were in imminent risk of total destruction during the siege of Drogheda; were conveyed repeatedly across the channel; and were, during King Charles' abode at Oxford, seized and plundered by Welsh banditti during a journey made by Ussher from Cardiff to St. Donati's. The bishop seems to have regarded his books as an essential portion of his traveling equipage, or to have felt so great an anxiety for their safe keeping that he could not endure to lose sight of them. On his journey he was waylaid, and the Welsh "fell to plundering and breaking open my lord primate's chests of books, ransacking all his manuscripts and papers, and not content with this, they pulled the primate and his daughter and other ladies from their horses." A cavalcade of that length, and composed of such a company, was a great godsend to the "Taffies," of the time of Cromwell. The primate felt his loss very keenly, but many and perhaps most of the books were recovered through the efforts of the neighboring proprietors. The

thieves got a little money, which was all that they wanted.

After Ussher's death in 1656, Cardinal Mazarin made efforts to purchase the library. But Cromwell was watchful, and would not permit the books to be sold out of the country. The army then in Ireland, the victorious "Ironsides" out of emulation to the former noble action of Queen Elizabeth's army were incited by some men of public spirit to the like performance." Accordingly the library was purchased under the sanction of Cromwell, together with all the manuscripts, sent over to Ireland and presented to the university. Henry Cromwell, then Lord Lieutenant, made the presentation. "He countenanced the university," says Borlase, "then in a low ebb, bestowing on it archbishop Ussher's library composed of the choicest and best picked books extant." Other writers bestow the praise on Cromwell himself. "Oliver Cromwell," observes Hearne, "had such a respect for the learned bishop Ussher that he made his soldiers then in Ireland be content to have so much deducted out of their pay as raised so considerable a sum as purchased his library for the use of Trinity College, Dublin, where it now remains." It is not probable that the Protector suggested to his army the purchase of the books; but it could not have been effected without his sanction and concurrence.

SPAIN

THE ESCORIAL LIBRARY—MADRID—SEVILLE—

16TH, 17TH, 18TH CENTURIES

No other public building in the world combines so much of the supernatural pretensions of priests and the pompous pride of princes as the Escorial. Constructed by the gloomiest bigot that ever destroyed a monarchy, and intimately associated with the alleged divine commission and religious rites of the fierce destroyers who made Philip II. the callous fanatic that he was, the Escorial has always appealed to the veneration of some as the seat at once of a divine interposition, and of the sacred right of kings "to govern wrong." Under both aspects the Escorial has been held up as connected with the special presence of heaven, and of the sanction and favor of God, and of monarchical virtue, as testified by "golden roses," and other acknowledgments. The priests who ruled there and the princes who reigned there in long succession both claimed to be the peculiar servants and ambassadors of the Most High. As such they assumed the disposal of the earth, continents and islands, whales and gudgeons; as such they denounced the divine wrath against all dissidents from their opinions, and devastated countries, and shed torrents of blood. The chief priest who instigated these pretensions and enormities as the special viceroy and vicegerent of God on earth has always taken Spanish princes under his peculiar protection; and the golden rose typical of perfect love has been in our day conferred on that profligate who, for a

time was mistress of the Escorial, etc. If any edifice could fairly lay claim to the especial protection of heaven, and to the shelter of divine intervention against elemental convulsions, and other assumed indications of wrath from on high, assuredly the Escorial could assert that claim. It was God's house in church and state, and those who ruled it were God's chosen servants. Notwithstanding all this the Escorial has been the object of more manifestations of divine displeasure, and elemental fury, and has suffered more from these causes than any other edifice on earth. If earthly conduct be in anywise a provocation for the interposition of direct punishment from heaven during this life, then the lives, principles, and actions of those priests and princes who ruled the Escorial must be profoundly offensive to the majesty and the purity of heaven. "Send forth thy lightnings and rend them; shoot forth thy arrows and consume them" is the fateful invocation that most aptly expresses the relations of the Escorial to the throne of God, if elemental manifestations be any means of judging of the counsels of His courts.

Before the great edifice was completed the wrath of offended deity was violently poured out upon it. July 21, 1577, a dreadful storm broke over the nascent building, as if to warn the authors of it that its continuance was a sin. Lightning smote it in several places at the same instant. Holy picture frames and sacred robes were set on fire by the flame that came from heaven. The wall of an upper room was rent; and the *Botica* tower was enveloped in flame. The holy bells were completely destroyed, although they were to call the faithful to devotion. The leaden roof was melted and the staircase blocked up by the fallen mass of molten metal. On the morning of July 22d the King retired to his oratory

to thank the Lord that this manifestation of displeasure was not sharper.

Again a thunderbolt shattered a corner tower in 1642, and eight years later a similar disaster destroyed another. Still a short eleven years and a furious conflagration threatens the entire edifice and all its contents with total destruction. A burning chimney discharged a shower of sparks, and these were carried by a strong north wind and lodged in the roof, and fanned there as by the breath of a destroying angel. During fifteen days the fire raged. The roof, the belfry and the bells were destroyed. The church was in great danger, and the Communion Host was hurriedly removed. "The presence of Almighty God," says Canon Quevedo of Badajos, the historian of the Escorial, "accompanied by a few monks, and illuminated by the splendor of the furious conflagration which threatened to destroy his holy tabernacle, was a deeply afflicting sight; religion multiplied the terrors of the scene; all were in tears; for it seemed as if in this transit of God himself as a fugitive from peril all hope of rescue was taken away." Most assuredly when Almighty God himself becomes a fugitive from peril, weak mortals may feel alarmed. Perhaps in all literature it would be impossible to find a more melancholy absence of all human sense, and all decency both of language and idea than the above quotation. Such language indicates a complete putrefaction of thought and intellect. Where such blindness prevails, and is enforced, and where men are deprived of sight in order that it may prevail and be enforced the need of good wholesome practical books that will lead men back to reason and perception of blasphemy, is overwhelmingly demonstrated. In this conflagration, which resulted from ignorance and carelessness in allowing soot to accumulate, a

vast quantity of property was destroyed. A large library of oriental manuscripts, which took fire from the cotton standard of the Turkish admiral taken at Lepanto, was included in the devastation. The damage reached the sum of \$450,000 and took four years to repair.

In September, 1732, lightning again struck the Escorial and set it on fire. The flames were subdued by the firemen with difficulty, a miraculous image of "Our Lady" sharing in the labor. The image would have better employed its "miraculous" power in keeping the lightning away. After twelve short years the building was again struck by lightning. The firewood, an inner court, and the whole stock of corn and flour were consumed. The monks were the losers in this instance. The earthquake that destroyed Lisbon in 1755 shook the Escorial. A chant against the earthquake was added to the Litany in emulation of the similar prayer against the Turk and the Comet of the previous century. Eight years later a fire broke out in the magazine of wax and torches and \$25,000 worth of damage was done.

The next perils arose from war and invasion, and were incurred chiefly by the libraries, and the collections of art. The scandals arising out of the quarrels between Charles IV. and his son Ferdinand had their chief scenes in the Escorial, and the prince was imprisoned there for a time. Several thousand French troops under Murat in 1808, and La Houssaye in the beginning of the following year occupied the Escorial, and then spoliation succeeded the perils of lightning. King Joseph's spoil collector, Quilliet, dexterously obtained a sight of their treasures from the monks. The library was intended to be removed to Paris; but the manuscripts were saved by Antonio Conde, to whom the transportation had been entrusted. The manuscripts were carefully deposited in

boxes in the convent of La Trinidad at Madrid, and then covered with a great pile of printed books. During five years this accumulation of literary monuments lay neglected and decaying. At length the reverses of the French arms at Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajos, Salamanca, and Vittoria, broke the power of French occupation. Joseph's private papers and treasure of all kinds were taken by Wellington at Vittoria; the manuscripts at Madrid were of necessity left where they were, and were at length restored to the Escorial. The purpose to which these books were devoted resembled the display of Chinese bric-a-brac on a connoisseur's shelves, rather than the sober employment of books for public instruction. They were turned with the edges outward in order that the gilding might make a display. It was not the spread of knowledge, but silly efforts to amuse the eye and conceal learning under a gilded mask that prompted this folly. The books in the Escorial were never intended for use. It was not the genius of the place so to use them.

Again after a few years a fire occurred in 1826 which destroyed a large portion of the Escorial. The building was also denuded of much of its art treasures to decorate the Royal Museum at Madrid. During the years 1836-7-8 the monks were gradually dispossessed and expelled, and their property sold. In 1840 the Escorial was deserted and bore visible marks of neglect. In 1854 the monastic principle was restored under Isabella of the golden rose, but, most strange to relate, the afflictions from heaven which had long ceased were renewed in 1872, when on the night of October 1st the fiercest storm of lightning ever known in Spain vented its fury on the Escorial. The crash of the storm shook the Guadarama mountains and struck terror into the inhabitants. Then

the value of monkish rule was exhibited to the world. The flames kindled by the fire from heaven spread rapidly. Hundreds of persons rushed to the rescue. The library was in imminent peril; but by great exertions the books were withdrawn. There was only one fire engine and that was out of repair. During the whole night assistance failed to arrive from Madrid, and not until the 3d was the fire finally subdued. The damage on this occasion was estimated at \$125,000 to \$200,000. It would be cheaper, and apparently more according to the will of heaven, to demolish the entire structure, and devote the books to the practical use of diffusing sound knowledge, and still more a taste for such knowledge among the people.

No reliable account of the contents of this library is available. The spirit that animated the Escorial never was in sympathy with popular education. The mind of the man who ordered the professors in Italy to desist from preparing lectures, and to confine themselves to one printed book, and thus threatened public education with extinction, could not devote books to any purpose but the one of raising up a monument of fictitious grandeur to his own gloomy glory. This library has always been secluded from the public eye. Losses from spoliation and from fire have been very serious; but no means of tracing the books have ever existed. Literature has derived extremely little benefit from the Escorial library, although it long contained, and probably still contains treasures of high value. In the middle of the seventeenth century there were known to be from eight thousand to ten thousand volumes.

The wretched regulations excluded not only "the writings of all modern philosophers but all that they may hereafter write," even as late as the close of the eight-

teenth century, and probably exclude them still. During the transmigrations to and from Madrid, resulting from the French invasion, many thousand volumes were lost or destroyed. In 1830 the Escorial did not contain more than 24,000 volumes, but there is no catalogue, except one inaccurate one of the manuscripts.

The encouragement given to the decay of books in Spain is also demonstrated by the collection at Seville. This library in earlier centuries contained a noble monument of Arabic literature, as well as Greek, Jewish, and the earlier mediæval medical and philosophical works. It was a worthy representative of the great period that preceded the Spanish conquest of the Moorish provinces. But the moths and worms were for centuries to revel undisturbed among the learned tomes. Mice and insects gnawed at pleasure; parchments rotted, and vellum mouldered; the literary illumination that had guided the world gradually became extinguished; and apathy and the disintegration that accompanies superstition robbed Spain of many of her greatest treasures. Never was a noble trust so shamefully betrayed. Less than 20,000 volumes now constitute the Columbian library at Seville; and amongst these a manuscript from which Columbus endeavored to convince the inquisitor that his great discovery had been divinely predicted. Is it Roger Bacon's Treatise on Geography, which guided the mind, and almost pointed to the course of the illustrious Genoese? There are also some books which Columbus, like other captains, solaced his voyages with, and bear his autograph annotations.

Still a third neglected and dilapidated collection of books, the Royal library of Spain, must be briefly noticed. Here many thousand volumes are still the prey of worms. In this library are many memorials of the

Shakesperian period. The private letters of Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, are here, and his correspondence with lords and ladies whom he bribed for Philip II. It is not only dust and worms that are here the masters; but the spirit that excludes modern philosophy and shuts out investigation is a still more hostile element. In protestant countries Rome is shamed into something like a show of regard for popular progress; but wherever she is supreme, books and monuments of learning are deliberately consigned to the "moth that fretteth," and the "worm that dieth not," unless he is carefully rooted out of the library.

PORTUGAL

16TH, 17TH, 18TH CENTURIES

In this region we encounter a series of obstacles placed in the way of general enlightenment that may rather be called Tortures of Literature than anything else. The Portuguese mind is naturally as fertile in literary taste as the mind of any other nation of equal numbers. But a cruel system of persecution has long been maintained against the children of genius.

The Portuguese language is the elder daughter of the Latin, as the Portuguese people rather proudly style it. The mother tongue is the prevailing element; and although the present language has supplied a speech to Goth and Moor, and has some granulations of Arabic imbedded in its structure, and specific sounds, yet it is smoother and softer even than the Castilian. A somewhat inaccurate division of the literary periods of Portu-

guese history limits the first age with the reign of Alfonso V.; the second with the mysterious fall and disappearance of Sebastian, one of the strangest episodes in monarchical annals; and the third with the present time.

Accepting this division simply for convenience and as sufficiently suited to present purposes, the first age was marked with general apathy in the acceptance of such literature as appeared. The only work of importance was the celebrated knight errant book, *Amadis de Gaul*, immortalized in *Don Quixote*. This work would be the glory and the boast of Portugal but that general indifference to literature, and the bent of the general mind toward intoxicating lives of saints, and similar unwholesome stimulants, allowed the manuscript to remain unperpetuated by the printer's press. The only copy known in the eighteenth century to exist, formed part of the Duke de Aveiro's library, and was destroyed with all the other books by fire after the great earthquake at Lisbon. Nothing now remains more ancient than the fifteenth century except a few historical documents and inferior poems. Portuguese archives were long the prey of those famous *tineæ* and *blattæ* that convert literature into food for the stomachs of maggots and not for the intellect of men. That was the fate to which the genius of Portugal was long consigned by the guardians of manners and morals. There is a rumor that the poems of King Dinez are still existent, but the location of them is not known or not revealed.

The earliest poems in the language,—and all history in prose is preceded by romances in verse,—are the *Cancioneiro* of Resende, a compilation of the date of Alphonso V. and his son with a few of earlier date. The first treaty with the King of Pegu was sworn to on a copy of this compilation instead of a bible. The only brevi-

ary—for there was no testament, old or new—that could be found was dilapidated and greasy, and could not appear in public. The Cancioneiro had a fine new dress and sparkled with respectability. The chief Kahn read a portion of his law on one side, the ambassador Joam Correa did the same on his side. It was a paraphrase from Solomon, “Vanity of vanities.” The treaty was sworn to on the respectable Cancioneiro and not on the greasy breviary, and being undoubtedly sincere was as good as any other treaty. Copies of this work are extremely scarce. The Inquisition carefully obliterated many passages; but the same defense cannot be urged for this mutilation as has been suggested in the case of the palimpsests of an earlier age,—that the writing was not wholly expunged in order that posterity might be able to restore it. The inquisitorial ink is less durable than that of Aldus or Sweynheim, and the attempt to obliterate has not fully succeeded. A remarkable instance of the gross irreverence for things sacred frequently, if not constantly produced by the intense pursuit of devotion exclusively, is presented by this Cancioneiro. One of the poems is addressed to Queen Isabella of Castile, and the writer surpasses all other flatterers by declaring that if she had been alive before the nativity of Christ he would have chosen her for his mother instead of Mary. Much light would be thrown on the sentiments of the age by this work. In respect to this book the old line

“The monks finished what the Goths began” may be parodied.

“The bigots finished what the moths began.”

In the sixteenth century a copy of a collection of Portuguese ballads was in the hands of the Marquis de Marialva; but neglect has buried it in oblivion. The ballads

have perished. There is a natural enmity between the song writer and the fanatic, unless the latter happens to have a political craze. The portugese language supplies unlimited rhyming sounds, and the improvisatore has supplanted the poet, as the coarse caricaturist in America threatens the artist with extinction in popular taste.

Portuguese literature and language were much improved by the truly great poet Francesco de La de Miranda, by Antonia Ferreira, who copied and worshiped Horace, Diogo Bernardis, and above all by the immortal Camoens,—unhappy Comoens who died miserably in an almshouse in 1579. His contemporary poets affected to despise the genius that was infinitely their superior, and the proud poor singer did not stoop to court them. The Portuguese never were in need of subjects for Homeric poems, and that species of composition abounded. Dramatic literature was cultivated under Emanuel and Joan III. who frequently patronized national plays. The drama has never flourished in Portugal, especially since the Braganza revolution. From that date fanaticism has crowded the theatre into obscurity, and the sonorous conceit of the opera has been substituted for the instructive literature, and philosophical analysis of life cultivated by dramatic art. The works of Manoel de Faria e Sousa, although composed in Spanish, were popular and voluminous. Lengthy historical works, and nine volumes of poems attested industry if not genius. But it is not improbable that these books have been rendered imperfect by the ravages of the French in Alentejo during Junot's occupation. At the commencement of the present century the Arcadian Society,—the Desembargador,—was distinguished by the poetry of Antonio Correa Garcam, one of its members. His dithyrambics long remained unprinted, and if they are in print now

are not generally known. The chief work of Garcam consists of a satirical poem in mock heroic entitled "Hysopaida." It is a severe reflection on the clergy under the guise of a narrative. It was published in 1802; but permission for general circulation in this form has never been obtained. It passed from hand to hand privately in manuscript. Another distinguished member of the Arcadian Society, formed for the purpose of elevating the tone of general literature, was Domingos dos Reis Quinta. He was apprenticed to a barber; but having, like Petrarch, discovered a few books, he first studied and then imitated them. To supply the defects in his education he studied Spanish, Italian, and French, and read Greek, Latin, German, and English authors procurable in translations. But in his case the old Latin proverb held good,—*"Virtus laudatur et alget;"*—"virtue is lauded, and left out in the cold." Domingos would have starved had he not been protected and cared for in the family of a physician, Balthazar Tara.

Portugal has as yet produced no novelists. Robinson Crusoe is generally read through a poor translation. But the "Pilgrim's Progress" has suffered indescribable torture and mutilation. Not only is the version like Hamlet with the part of Hamlet omitted, but with many of the other characters in Hamlet omitted likewise. Hate-good with his Nebuchadnezzar's decree, that whoever would not fall down and worship the golden image should be thrown into a fiery furnace, is not there; Honest, Despondency, and Much Afraid are also absent. Ready-to-Halt, and "Great Heart" have likewise been expurgated. This is a description of literary persecution that indicates a small petulance against good things that is as mean as it must eventually be unavailing. A literary torture of a different kind is exhibited in a Spanish work

the title of which is "Los Zelos de S. Joseph." "The jealousy of St. Joseph," a very favorite theme in Spain and Portugal. This topic was adopted by the Mexican Nun, Juana Inez de la Cruz, who flourished a century and a half ago, and was styled the Tenth Muse. She wrote some pieces of which the subject is a dialogue between Joseph and the First Person in the Trinity. They contend as to which of them shall bestow the highest compliment on the other. The conclusion is that neither of the Chesterfieldian contestants comes out "first best," and each receives only as good as he gave. This supreme blasphemy was approved by the nun's superiors, and sanctioned by the Inquisition. It is welcomed in Portugal. To be condemned by those who recommend this disgraceful book is indeed an honor.

Books of travel are not in favor with such Portuguese writers as undertake original composition. The Inquisition long suppressed all efforts in that direction; and although that institution has been compelled by universal execration to desist from burning people as heretics in order to rob their families of all their property, still it has a kind of malarious social influence which sickens if it cannot kill. The press especially feels the virus of its secret and open hostility, as no publications of any kind can circulate without its imprimatur. As usual the state is simply an official bureau to register the decrees of the church, and the pretense of the civil power is put forward as a blind. At the beginning of the present century a book of poems was officially suppressed because the word Fate was inserted by the author. A translation of Darwin's *Zoonomia* was refused publication, although, and perhaps because it was offered by a physician who had studied at Edinburg. A book by Zimmerman containing a sketch of the various forms

of government in Europe was laid before the Board of Censors. The chief censor erased with his pen the entire preface containing the sketch, wrote another himself as a substitute, lauding the government of Portugal as an absolute monarchy and the most perfect in Europe, and then ordered the book to be printed with this new preface or not printed at all. No literature can exist in the presence, or at least exposed to the tyranny of such a court. Books written under its control are not literature, they are only literary castroni.

Before the inquisition became fixed as the power in Catholic countries definitely in opposition to modern protestantism, and while much independent research and mental activity were exhibited in the church at large, Portuguese writers were numerous, and their works that remain are still valuable. Since the Reformation this free inquiring spirit is exclusively enjoyed by protestants or free thinkers who are distinctly opposed to Jesuitism; whereas before the Reformation such persons very frequently were included in the general church population, and their genius is now claimed by the Roman church as an evidence of her breadth of spirit. They were the metal in the ore before it was extracted from the dross. The dross cannot claim relationship.

Portuguese historians have produced many valuable and able works. But the neglect and apathy which consigned so much other literature to oblivion have operated in this department also. The chronicle of Fernan Lopes describing the successful resistance of the Portuguese to the crown of Castile under Protector Joam, known as King Joam of Good Memory,—1384–1403, one of the most stirring in the annals of the country, was long allowed to remain unprinted, although announced for publication in 1790. The academician to whom the

charge of editing historical documents had been assigned, Jose Correa de Serra, left the country, and there was apparently no person assigned to take his place. Gomez Eannes de Azurara who succeeded Lopes wrote several important chronicles,—the Conquest of Ceuta, part of the Chronicle of Alfonso V., the Chronicles of D. Pedro, and Duarte Menezes, respecting the barbarous warfare in Africa continuous on the conquest of Ceuta, 1420. He also wrote the History of the Portuguese Discoveries to his own time; but this work has been allowed to perish utterly. Its place has not been supplied. The conquest of Portugal in 1580 by Philip II. produced great depression in the literature of the subjugated country. Genius ceased to exhibit itself. As in Greece, ancient and modern, and even in Constantinople itself, the break in the growth of national political life by the infusion of alien elements checked intellectual aspiration, and led to stagnation and decay. Writers continued indeed to produce books, but their light was borrowed from their predecessors. They lived in the past. Vigorous emulation vanished during the sixty years of Spanish occupation. All literature stagnated. Spaniards and Portuguese alike felt the paralyzing influences at work, and in both nations despotism both in church and state speedily destroyed that intellectual activity which had hitherto exercised some restraint on both. The resurrection of the kingdom, however, awakened literary ardor. The *Historia de Portugal Restaurado* of Laiz de Menezes, Count of Erceira, records these events, but without much spirit. This family, with one disgraceful exception already noticed, was long distinguished in literature. The *Biblioteca Ericeriana* is a catalogue of one hundred and forty-five works composed by members of the family. The family library was long celebrated; but surrounding in-

fluences which led to public apathy produced intellectual death here also. The library was dispersed by an unworthy heir, and some of the books were exchanged for a Spanish ass.

The House of Braganza acceded to power in the midst of a gloomy predominance of political and spiritual tyranny. They fully shared in the arbitrary spirit of their time, and equaled the intolerance of the Austrians whom they displaced. With this house superstition and suspicion were united with cruelty. Under Braganza himself the decline of Portuguese literature was rapid; but the "depraved tastes, the low and profligate habits, the headstrong perversity" of Alfonso VI., 1656-1667, imperiled the life of the nation. No improvement was effected by Pedro II. The moral and literary degradation of Portugal was complete. In the succeeding reign a literary fashion spread from London and Paris. The Portuguese crown was in possession of vast treasure from Brazil, and the influence of France possessed some potency in arousing at least an imitation of literary activity. On the model of the French academy, the Academia Portugueza was established in 1714, under the presidency of the Count of Erceira. But this institution was allowed to languish out of life so effectually and speedily that even Portuguese annalists are unable to tell when it died. The atmosphere of the court and the church was not favorable to academies. Still other institutions of a similar kind arose, and declined and died from similar causes. The Academy of History founded at Lisbon in 1720 promised usefulness to literature and historical science, but it could accomplish nothing. A few unimportant works were all that resulted from an establishment of fifty academicians, and eighteen others in the provinces. The academy melted away. Still another academy was

established toward the close of the last century—A. D. 1779, by the reigning queen Maria; and it has effected some improvement. Of this sovereign Lardner remarks, (Sp. and Port. v. 261,) “A far greater boon was the introduction into the convents of the friars of a compulsory course of education, embracing useful literature, philosophy, and the sciences. Unfortunately, however, her excellent designs were, to a considerable extent, thwarted by the opposition of that most idle, most profligate and most ignorant portion of the religious communities, a class who have practised more knavery, and by their example corrupted more morals, than all the world besides. Without principle or regularity of conduct, consisting of the dregs of society, assuming the habit merely to escape a life of drudgery, suffered to prowl wherever they please, using the mask of religion to extort money from the weak, to seduce the wives and daughters of such as offered them hospitality,—they are and ever have been a curse to every nation that harbors them.” If the learned doctor be accurate in his diagnosis of the friars, a healthy literature is not to be expected in a country where such an infectious moral disease prevails. The national library of Portugal was created in 1796, and the number of books greatly augmented by the remnants of the suppressed monastic libraries in 1841. These books were in a dreadfully dilapidated condition. Dust, moths, neglect and confusion had made a chaos, and infinite pains and skill were needed to make the entire collection available to the public.

A great disaster was inflicted on the historical and national literature of Portugal by Marshal Massena in his retreat from the lines of Torres Vedras before Sir Arthur Wellesley. The large and wealthy convent of Alcobaça contained extensive treasures of books and manuscripts.

Being one of the most important monastic institutions of the country, it was possessed of ample means both of collecting and storing books. But as the French devastated all treasures of art and literature wherever their arms penetrated, and the convent might afford shelter to the British and Portuguese pursuers, the entire edifice and its contents were consigned to the flames. A catalogue or even a summary of the library is not at hand.

PERU

It is far from being necessary or expedient to repeat here the history of the events that led to the acquisition of the Kingdom of Peru by Spain. That story has been amply and well told. It may be proper, however, to allude to a few details of administration by the Incas that are identified with our subject.

Literature, in our sense of it, did not exist among the Peruvians at the time of the Spanish conquest. Writing is said to have been forbidden by the Inca law. Hence the conclusion has been drawn that the art was known but totally suppressed. The statement is not proved, and is in itself improbable. The absolute temper attributed to the Inca sovereigns would be much more likely to retain than to extirpate an art that must have increased their own despotism, in rendering them far higher than the ordinary population even than they were. If writing had been known to the Incas it must have been so in ancient times. Atahualpa, when shown a book and informed that men learned from it, placed the book to his ear in order to hear it. The historical and economical memorials of the country were clumsily pre-

served by a system of knotted strings of various colors, and arranged in bunches, called Quippus. The colors are supposed to have indicated the substance spoken of, the knots and fringes the fractional portions. The strings were fastened to a sort of ring made of a piece of leather or tendon, and then coated with a species of lacquer. Quippus of a similar character were in use among the Chinese long anterior to the Christian era, and also among the Tartars in still more recent times. Indeed there are statements that these quippus existed and were used to some extent in Tartary as late as our fifteenth century, if not later. They are distinctly mentioned in the early history of China. The paternal system of the latter empire and that of Peru resembled each other very closely. The arrival of the Tartar influence in Peru may reasonably be referred to the serious dissensions, that occurred in China about two hundred years before our era. If it be true that writing was forbidden by the Incas, then we have an interesting repetition of the enforcement of an antiliterary spirit similar to that which prevailed in China under the founder of the Tsin dynasty, who erected the great wall, but destroyed all the books, B. C. 150-200.

It is also said that traveling,—that great source of enlargement of knowledge and correction of errors,—was also interdicted among the Peruvians. Under the Tsin dynasty similar prohibitions prevailed. Each person must live, and marry and die in his own village. Whoever was found wandering beyond the prescribed bounds was severely punished. In very recent times similar provisions were in force in the Russian villages. They are the origin of the certificate and passport system so oppressive to workmen and so bitterly complained of in France and elsewhere. A class of AMAUTAS, or philosophers,

were charged with the duty of collecting and arranging the national annals of Peru, a system obviously derived from a society far more advanced in literary attainments than the Peruvian, and similar to the Chinese. There were poets also who composed love songs for the entertainment of the royal Louis or Charles.

The quippus formed the sole national archives. "Outside these '*bribes d'instruction*,' no sign transmitted the thought of man to man. Everything, even the language was founded on oral tradition, that changing thing which alters with every generation like the fashions. That is to say that history, and one might add all real civilization, the collected fruit of the past, was completely in its infancy." The arts of metal working and architecture prevailed to a very useful degree; but literature there was none.

The Spaniards were at the highest point of national vigor at the date of the conquest; and what did they do for literature in Peru?

Pizarro could not read. It is narrated that Atahualpa caused the name of God to be written on his thumbnail. Showing this to the conqueror he asked him to read it. But as Pizarro failed the Inca scarcely concealed his contempt. From that moment the malignity of Pizarro towards his captive became a passion. This was a bad beginning; but it was under such auspices that the dominion of Spain in Peru was established. From 1535 to 1875 are 340 years. During that long period of time, sufficient for civilization to rise and mature, and even to give place to others, more than sufficient to build up a mighty literature if there is a disposition to do so, the country newly acquired was ruled by strong and wealthy brotherhoods, all of them boasting of literary culture, some aspiring to dominate the entire human race in that

direction; a long series of strong officials had been dispatched to Peru, some of them very cultivated and earnest men. Spain found most plastic materials to work upon; the Indian, and the Creole, and the Spanish mind was humbly at her disposal. There was not a breath of opposition. And yet at the close of the three hundred and forty years Peru possessed no literature, and was only beginning a desperate struggle to obtain one. Only in some of the chief cities were books published at all, and these of a very inferior order, and on frivolous subjects. Even the public journals, such as they were, had only attained an infancy. At Lima some journals were published that possessed literary pretension of a superior order; but Lima was largely influenced by foreign elements, and the literary life there was infused by French and English thought. Public instruction had been left, under the enervating system derived from Spain, to a class of magisters who possessed very slender resources themselves, and felt neither ambition nor motive for diffusing what little they knew. Teaching was regarded as an inferior trade, unbecoming dignity or station. In other words the secret hostility to education on the part of those who moulded public sentiment—the priests—induced a mental torpor respecting the elevation of the masses which excused itself under the plausible pretense of the inferiority of an occupation which chiefly concerned the aborigines. A French writer,—Carrey,—thus expresses his contempt for the fraud committed on the Peruvians during three hundred and forty years:—“*Encore un peu la nation Peruvienne saura lire mieux que la France—pauvre patrie.*” This as late as 1875. “Only during the last three or four years,” says this spirited writer, “a great intellectual movement has displayed itself, and has become emphasized more and more every day. The

impulse has been given by a few men, notably by the ruling president; the nation follows. Instead of dragging himself along behind the tugboat of his subjects, and straining every muscle, by every means unceasingly to impede their advance, as do so many governments of our hemisphere, Don Manuel Pedro marches at the head of his people, a true chief as he is. He enlightens, he sustains, he guides, impels his people if need be, when some reform troublesome but beneficial is in question. Happy Peru!" Not only do a multitude of the Peruvians not know how to read or write, but the people at large have no clear idea of what a book is, and like their last Inca would place a book to their ear to hear it speak. Who is to blame? The chief interest of this discussion arises from the fact that the same communities who thus degraded Peru are still struggling to obtain control of the education of youth in all countries, under claim of a divine commission. Let us see how they exercised the commission when they were supreme and unimpeded.

The old government of the Incas was a theocracy. Temples arose in every part of the empire. In these fanes pomp and glare were employed to satisfy the struggling but darkened imaginations of the people. Instead of being supplied with facts in nature or in knowledge of any kind, their eyes were blinded with a profusion of visions that captivated their fancy, and substituted wonder for reason. The catholic system has always carefully adopted the customs of the heathen, but giving them names more or less associated with christianity. Processions and festivals in veneration of a Spanish image were substituted for processions and festivals in honor of a Peruvian image. The people were amused, not instructed. Even their hearts were not cultivated. The

Spanish conquest was effected in the presence of a crowd of ecclesiastics of various orders who stimulated the zeal of the soldiery in the destruction of monuments. Peru became a Golgotha of her ancient architecture. Every scene of the ancient worship became also a seat for the new. Monks and nuns swarmed everywhere. In the confusion immense estates were acquired by all the religious houses which sprang up throughout the country. These establishments absorbed immense revenues which they recklessly wasted. The church ruled the land through her armies of priests, monks, brotherhoods and hierarchies. Places, and even streets were called commonly by the name of Jesus, or the Virgin, or some saint. Statues, images, crosses, arose on every corner. Every family acquired the protection of some tutelary saint, a god-lar, as among the ancient Romans. Veneration for these objects, and the ceremonies that accompanied it entered into all the habits and occupations of the people. Not only every family but every village and town was presided over by some saint bound to afford protection. Every undertaking of greater or less importance was first referred to some image, with an appropriate offering. Reason, judgment, caution, and the acquisition of facts to guide the conduct, were banished. Each festival, and they were extremely numerous, was under the presidency of some saint, under whose sacred indulgence all sensuality was divinely sanctioned. For a village feast the image from the nearest church was borrowed for the occasion; and the health of the saint was first drunk by the raising of the glass towards the place where it stood, and then all excess was sacredly commissioned. The sentimental character of the Peruvians was thus induced to rear a multitude of churches and to devote them immense wealth. Lima alone contained seventy. The

greater number are rather unsightly on the exterior, but within are ablaze with gorgeousness. If it be a philosophical truth that mankind must pass through an era of religion and devotional fervor before arriving at the full use of their faculties, and that this experience is necessary to each nation separately, then there is much hope for Peru. She has passed through her devotional measles, and as the attack was violent, we must presume that the patient is not likely to suffer from a second. The virus was forcibly operative while it lasted. No extravagance was too great, no devotion too exacting for Peruvian fervor. The richest and most brilliant silks and velvets, gold and silver stuff, in profusion, laces and fans, diamonds, rubies, pearls and emeralds shone in dazzling splendor in the churches. The images of Christ and the Madonna were completely covered with jewelry of the most costly character. In one case the eyes are of diamond, the locks of gold, the cross of silver. Crucifixes are composed of precious stones of every color which reproduce in gorgeous realism the nails, the blood, the wounds of the crucifixion. In some cases, these festivals continued for many days consecutively. In the church of St. Augustine at Lima, during the feast of Notre Dame de Barnabeda, which lasts eight days, the Virgin changes her cloak every day, and each cloak is valued at more than eight thousand francs; and some at more than fifteen thousand francs on account of the jewelry that adorns them. All these riches, together with chalices, pattens, candelabra, censers, all in gold or massive silver, are illumined by the glare of thousands of wax candles, of which five thousand are kindled at one time; in the Church of Notre Dame of the Rosary, at St. Domingo. One day of this festival costs thirty thousand francs. Each religious house possessed enormous revenues. The

convent of Buena Muerte possessed an income of 800,000 francs, and the congregation of the Oratorio 3,000,000 francs, exclusive of private offerings which are always made, and were exacted from every person, old and young, rich and poor. Even after the recovery of her independence Peru was burdened by this oppressive tax, the convents, the monasteries, and communities of Lima alone possessing an aggregate revenue from their own property exceeding 2,500,000 francs. This enormous burden has been diminished since rational intelligence revived in Peru, but the tax had already wasted the people for more than three hundred years. As all ecclesiastical property was free from taxation of all sorts for national purposes, and it included the larger half and the better portion of the national domain, we might have expected a large portion of the income to be devoted to education. But the priests and monks took good care not to spend money for that purpose in Peru. Education was wholly neglected, and the mind of the nation left to stagnate amid ecclesiastical shows in honor of dolls and dummies such as we place outside tobacco shops and dime museums.

All the wasteful extravagance for superstitious folly was thrown away on the lives of the clergy themselves. Abuses of administration of funds amounted to profligacy. Peculation and embezzlement were universal, and were the cause of uncontrolled licentiousness in all classes. This was the uncicatrized wound of Peru, the unhealed running ulcer of her social and political life. It was a wound "of idleness, filth, misery, debauchery, which only those who saw Italy before the suppression of the monasteries can imagine anything to equal. Priests abounded. It was a question of choosing the service of God in order to live in idleness. Their leisure time, and

that was the whole of it, they employed in discovering the paradise of Mahomed here on earth, and assuredly they did not attain to that of Christ."

"In the shadow and under the example of these monks groveled swarms of mendicants of every grade, a true court of miracles of high and low degree, in coats or in shirts, but all equally mendicants, vicious and debauched. It was a question who should 'work' (exploiterait) the altar, or generous souls, to live at their expense, without industry,—always, without ablutions, for that gives trouble, without even concealing its vices, hardly, for they were all under the divine protection." And amid all this festering corruption no schools, no literature, not a printing press in all the land, except one at Lima and that belonged to the Jesuits, and was not employed for educational purposes. The Spaniards literally created nothing,—except beggary, in a splendid and wealthy region where under the Incas a dependent person, much less a mendicant, did not exist. Not only were Peruvians deprived of the means and opportunity of developing their own minds and their own physical resources, but Spain would not move a finger to develop either. Communication between the Peninsula and her dependencies was reduced to one *galleon* in the year, that was to supply news.

In the early period of Spanish dominion some evidences of literature were introduced into Peru. But they did not circulate. Spain has long ceased to contribute anything to her colonies. The wealthy creoles of long ago imported some specimens of art and learning, or some were sent over by the kings of early days. Even yet, some churches and convents contain, hidden away, books and manuscripts that might be made available, if not for the sake of their contents, yet for the literary

example which they might present. Among heaps of probable rubbish some possible gem might be discovered. It would be interesting to know how far worms, moths, dust, and neglect have rendered these literary relics available even as curiosities.

The civilization derived from literature, or in association with the growth and predominance of reason which literature implies, was wholly suppressed in Peru, and the minds of the people were directed to public mummeries as their most serious occupation. Even as late as 1817, the streets of Lima were constantly encumbered with processions on all sorts of religious pretenses. Especially on the Sunday after Easter, commonly called Quasimodo, and on Corpus Christi, these processions were followed by bands of roistering mummers (in the United States we should commence the word with a b), dressed in imitation of demons, and also of hideous dwarfs. In what way the original devil was induced to provide an exemplar is not exactly known. Others were tricked out as monstrous giants:—Calithumpians on the religious principle. In the latter case a negro inside carried an enormous pasteboard figure of ogreish aspect, and the dwarf, or papa huevo, was personated by a boy who carried a monstrous mask of a head that covered him to the knees. In 1817, these monstrosities were forbidden in the interest of public decency on Sundays. But the priests were offended; and one of them wrote the following petition for the restoration of the ogres, addressed to the authorities of Lima:

“Most Excellent Senor.—The priest N. N., Doctor of Sacred Theology of the most illustrious royal and pontifical university of San Marcos, incumbent of the parish of ———, has the honor respectfully to represent to your excellency that it is a notorious wrong, and a manifest

offense against the majesty of the Divine Pastor, Redeemer and Saviour of all generations, to have forbidden this year, by paramount but not competent authority, the presence of devils and giants in the public processions of Quasimodo (Sunday next). The measure is unreasonable and unnecessary: 1, because the said devils form an innocent escort to the Divine Majesty, and the people delight to see them prostrate themselves before God; and, 2, because the giants without frightening children attract a more numerous crowd of devout persons, but for whose presence the Divine procession would be completely deserted. Your petitioner therefore begs of your excellency and of your pious heart, that from my church of — — my faithful parishioners may proceed disguised as devils and giants. I await this favor from your pious christian heart."

"† Dr. N. N. Cura de — —."

"I further pray there may be papa huevos."

The viceroy took compassion on the prospective loneliness of the divine majesty, and permitted four giants and papa huevos to accompany the procession from petitioner's church the following Sunday.

Peru owes her intellectual as well as political enfranchisement, so far as either has progressed, to the broad and patriotic principles of General Jose de San Martin. Although absorbed with the cares of the war of liberation against the Spaniards the General forwarded public improvements and the freedom of learning, as the strongest defense against future tyranny of church and state. Among other public establishments traceable to his enlightened efforts is the public library at Lima. This was the first public institution established by the independent government, by virtue of decrees bearing date August, 1821, and February, 1822. The library contains

more than thirty thousand volumes. Among the printed books are some very important works, and others antique and rare. A few manuscripts have survived the virulent antipathy of priests and monks to anything but superstitious imaginings.

BRAZIL

No literature existed in the Brazils when the country was discovered by Europeans. Pinzon in A. D. 1500 gazed upon a splendid land as yet unilluminated by any mental light except the feeble, and fitful sparks of savage intellect. The country was long neglected by its Portuguese nominal masters. Even after the products of the forests were better understood, and "The Lords of the conquest and commerce of India" had begun to take the benefits of a rude trade with the aborigines, more anxiety was shown to exclude rivals than to profit themselves.

Gradually shipwrecked adventurers like Diogo Alvarez established a link, both personally and through their half native descendants, between the Portuguese and aboriginal tribes. Small forts and trade posts were formed; the ruffians of Portugal were shipped off as colonists; nobler patrons of vice, intolerable at home, were encouraged to prey on the defenseless natives; and these classes, released from European laws and opinions, became the corrupters of the simple people among whom they mingled. The native cannibals acquired new means of destruction, and the Europeans fresh modes of barbarity. Captaincies were let out by royal authority to Fidalgos who undertook to subdue and occupy them.

But many of these persons abused their powers, tyrannized without mercy over the subjugated races, and drove the latter to revenge and insurrection. Gold was the inciting motive with all these adventurers. On the other hand the cannibalistic tendencies of the natives or many of them formed their strongest passion. Priests, warriors, women and children all firmly held the doctrine that "to the victors belong the spoils." Native society was indeed "an organized appetite" for human flesh. This is the account of their enemies, and may be taken with large allowance. They were passionately fond of music, and this feeling enabled the Jesuits to obtain great influence over them. The efforts of Villegagnon and his Huguenot settlers at Bahia in 1564 were not successful. They were not supported by any established power at home. Dutch invaders and the contentions created between Holland and Portugal produced great misery to all concerned. But these were temporary evils. The Portuguese steadfastly resisted all attempts to educate the aborigines. Inquisitorial practices were constantly in force, and the natives hailed with delight any foreign invader whom they thought likely to aid them against their hated oppressors. The efforts of the Jesuits were directed toward the creation of blind obedience in the natives under their control, rather than education. The entire training was governed by a determination to create unthinking submissiveness and human machines. The Indian children were everywhere rendered as plastic and as dependent as possible. In all their system the Jesuits appealed, and still appeal to the faculty of wonder, and not to any reasoning faculty whatever. Their Indian pupils in Brazil and Paraguay were subjected simply to a process of domestication. The education of the children occupied most attention. They were fully im-

bued with reverence for some saint or image, and they were trained to obedience. But the instruction imparted to them seldom went further. Few were taught to read; still fewer were allowed to acquire the Spanish language. The Jesuits decorated their docile subjects with many titles of nominal rank and dignity, and thus cultivated an empty vanity and self-importance founded on no qualities or acquirements; but they never admitted an Indian into their order. The entire system was intended to perpetuate a condition of seclusion and pupilage. All intercourse with Spaniards and Portuguese was forbidden. An Indian who had acquired knowledge would have been restive under such restraint. The Jesuits found the Indian less than a child; and they pleaded his childishness and imbecility as a reason for not doing more for him than they did. A child they compelled him to remain. Wherever a population has degenerated in their hands they invariably plead that degeneracy as a radical fault in their victim.

But the simple people had observation enough to know when they were wronged. Accordingly they fiercely assailed the Portuguese on many occasions. The latter retaliated by still more fiendish oppression and massacre. For more than two centuries the history of Brazil chiefly consists of efforts on the part of Portuguese adventurers to enslave and brutalize, on that of the Jesuits to mould into formal submissiveness without thought or intellect, the tribes of natives. On the part of the latter the same period was marked by apparent submission to the priest, and open and at times fierce hatred of the planter. After the expulsion of the Jesuits from Paraguay the Indians of the much vaunted Reductions relapsed at once into barbarism and heathenism. During the period between 1500 and 1640 the intellectual and literary condition of

Brazil was extremely low. From the latter date the contentions between Spain and Portugal awakened much intelligent observation. Some planters grew rich. Gleams of light penetrated from abroad. The forms of judicial proceedings taught some few truths. The centers of government necessarily possessed a few persons of education. But literature was not discoverable at all among the great mass of the population. Priest and ruler combined in creating ignorance and superstition. So inimical were the Roman ecclesiastics to even the semblance of education that the efforts of the Dutch to introduce civilized ideas both in religion and social life were regarded by the Jesuits with horror. Among other barbarisms and heresies the Hollanders taught their native Brazilian subjects reading and writing; and Dutch paper and sealing wax long remained in use among the reformed Indians of Pernambuco, the pupils of these protestant instructors. But when the latter withdrew after the treaty of 1661 these and other evidences of civilization gradually disappeared.

During the eight years' sway of the Hollanders under the able and distinguished leadership of the Count of Nassau, very great efforts were made in the settlements to establish education on a permanent basis among the Brazilians and settlers. One of the chief cares of the Count was the establishment of schools. On this subject we find the following noble language, embodying equally noble sentiments, in the narrative of Barlæus (p. 306): "*Nec inter postremas comitis curas fuit scholarum inauguratio, formandæ et erudiendæ juven-tuti, non ut invitis Lusitanis persuaderentur nobis credita, sed ut cultum induerent qui ad humanitatem omnem et morum elegantiam præformat.*" "Not among the least important cares pressing on the Count was

the establishment of schools for the training and instruction of youth, not that our principles of belief should be inculcated despite the opposition of the Portuguese, but to impart a culture that should promote every human accomplishment, and the refinement of manners."

That the Hollanders were earnest and active in preaching and teaching is clear from the number of ministers directly employed. In Recife were Francis Plaute, Frederic Casseler, and Peter Lantman. In Olinda and the villages around it Joachim Soller and I. Polhemius. At Tarnarica, Cornelius Poel. At Parayba, Samuel Rathelar. At Olinda the people were addressed in French and Portuguese, a token that the efforts of Villegagnon and his Huguenots were not without effect. In the villages near the new settlements the native and the Portuguese tongues were employed. At Cape Augustine, John Stetin ministered, and at Serinham, John Edwardi.

That much interesting information on the antiquities of the country would have resulted from a permanent occupation by the Hollanders may be inferred from the very pleasing narrative of Elias Herckman, who was dispatched into the interior in search of mines in 1661. He discovered away in the inner country some gigantic constructions which he likened to some others then, and perhaps still existing in Belgium, and which he declared to be of human origin.

He says (Barlæus p. 217), "*Visi iterum magnæ molis lapides humano labore congesti, quales etiam in Belgio Drenta regio habet quos nulla vectatione, nulla hominum vi illuc deportari potuisse ob magnitudinem credas, ea forma ut aras referre videantur.*" "Some slabs of stone of immense mass were again observed set together by human labor, of a similar kind to some which the dis-

trict of Brenta in Belgium still contains, and which you could not believe that any strength of men could convey thither on account of their size, and of such shape that they seemed to resemble altars." Herckman had already discovered another apparently human structure wherein an immense stone was precisely poised in the center on another, each being exactly circular, and about sixteen feet in diameter.

The contrast between Brazil in 1641 and Brazil in 1808 is painfully suggestive of the slow march of the country to degeneracy in the meantime, and the neglect or destruction of such civilizing and elevating influences as lead to commerce, architecture, and the spread of literature on all subjects affecting a growing community. In all these respects three centuries of Romano-Portuguese occupation had produced only stagnation.

Although the "Holy Office" never formally stained the soil of Brazil, yet the spirit of the Inquisition brooded over the land, and its mysterious awe thrilled the human mind into lethargy. A rigid censorship forbade the publication of almost any book except the most simple formularies, and of them there existed only a scanty supply. After the French revolution a few forbidden treatises were smuggled into the country, and were eagerly read in secret. Revolutionary ideas were the only ones taught in this contraband literature; and the people possessed no ideas on social or political questions that could enable them to compare the new theories with any principles already formed. The civil policy of the Portuguese concentrated itself into a system for the extirpation of the means for the formation of public opinion. The disputes that troubled the country were mere incidents of this great system. During the civil descent thus occasioned religion was a mere display of dolls, and the performance

of pompous ceremonies that amounted to mere fetishism to the great bulk of the people. To destroy the elasticity of the intellect, and render the whole population an unresisting passive mass ready for ecclesiastical deglutition constituted the rigid policy of the python that had coiled around it. While emptiness was produced by the church, coercion was applied by the state, both having the same stupefying result in view. The revolution in the United States followed immediately by the still more noisy revolution of 1789, aroused all Brazil from its torpor. Men awoke as from a dream. The debasing rule of the Portuguese was contrasted with a new order of things. Thinkers began to discover how terribly ignorant they were themselves, and all those around them. The mockery of education that had prevailed in the so called schools became painful. The ignorant and slothful lives of priests and monks created nausea. Justice had long lost all meaning. The few institutions for charity or public utility were extremely feeble, and always on the verge of extinction. Public opinion felt a pang. With shame men noticed that as late as 1808 there was not a single printing press in all Brazil, until the court took refuge there and introduced a press from England. There was not a single bookseller in Pernambuco. In fact, books were practically unknown. There was no literature because none had been permitted to exist. We are thus fully prepared to find that education had made extremely little progress in the three centuries of Portuguese, or rather Roman, domination. Even the knowledge of the ecclesiastics was confined to a little bad Latin; and the fortunate person who possessed some acquaintance with Latin and French was regarded as a transcendent genius, and people came from far to consult him. A stray volume of the histories of Greece or Rome, and a smuggled

copy of the "Contrat Social" of Rousseau, or a volume of Voltaire or the Abbé Raynal, that had escaped the vigilance of the authorities, formed the only source of information. In 1808 neither a printing press nor a university existed in all Brazil. During the viceroyalty of the Count de Rezende,—1790–1801, an attempt was made to establish a literary academy at Rio de Janeiro; but its members were subjected to so much political persecution that the association was dissolved almost immediately.

In the midst of the painful decline of literature in Portugal itself from the beginning of the sixteenth century, we can hardly expect a better order of things in her colonies. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the intellectual activity of Portugal exhibited itself alike in literary adventure, maritime enterprise, and colonial acquisition. The Portuguese arms were strong both in India and Brazil. During this promising period a new literature arose that brightly illumined the era that called a new world into existence. But "Satan came there also." Where the arms of Portugal penetrated there went the deadly Inquisition. With these influences must be mentioned also the excessive emigration to Asia, Africa, and America, that drained Portugal of many of its best elements, annihilated the greater part of the nobility, who were all men of culture and almost the only ones, in distant wars and fanatical expeditions. The experience of the Crusades was renewed. The best of the laity were piously expatriated, and the church extended her grasp at home during the absence of the nation's defenders both in field and council. The intellectual pre-eminence of Portugal was speedily extinguished, and has never revived. From all these causes resulted not only a decline in population, but a calamitous descent in intellectual power. From four millions in 1481–1493, under

Don John II., the Portuguese diminished in number to two millions in a century,—1580,—when Lusitania succumbed to Spain. In sixty years the number declined to a million and a half. In 1414 fifty thousand men were easily assembled for the expedition to Ceuta. In 1640 Don John IV. with difficulty placed twelve thousand in array against Spain. The decline of the nation and the decay of literature necessarily progressed together,—*pari passu*. The idle legend of the monk satisfied the weaker mind of the layman. The lofty tone of Camoens was succeeded by periphrastic vapiditv, and the good sense of earlier historians was replaced by inflated verbiage that sounded of emptiness. During this painful descent of the Portuguese mind the Inquisition and the Jesuit were supreme. Their control became more intense as the power of resistance grew more feeble; and as this result was accomplished among the homogeneous population of Lusitania herself, we can readily understand how the same system became even more irresistible among the motley and semi-civilized tribes of the Brazilian forests. Between 1550 and 1808 literature was almost blotted out of the Portuguese world.

The actual condition of Brazil in literary and educational development is significantly and tersely indicated by a professional writer stationed in that country during the year 1890. "There are eleven bishops in Brazil," says this author, "with an archbishop in Bahia. The salaries of the clergy are paid from the state treasury, and subsidies are granted to a few schools and seminaries and religious communities. The budgets for public worship have included grants of \$450,000 a year for the payment of 2,000 curates and the higher clergy. This sum is only a small fraction of the revenues of the church and could easily be spared. The influence of the clergy would be

largely increased if they were extricated from the embarrassing position of office holders in the civil service. They are too often despised by intelligent taxpayers as a class of political mendicants who insist upon soliciting state aid when they have the means of making a good living in their own way. The cause of religion would gain much and lose nothing if the revolutionary processes were to be extended to the church.

“What has impaired the influence of the church in Brazil has been the corrupt and scandalous life of many of the clergy. This is not a wanton Protestant charge. It is the sorrowful admission of Catholics themselves. The evil has been one of long standing. When Dom Pedro II. was in his infancy, Antonio Diago Feijo was Regent of the empire. He proposed as a good Catholic a measure for sanctioning the marriage of the clergy, and compelling the Papal authorities, under menace of disestablishment, to allow its enforcement. When the measure failed he wrote a book entitled ‘Celibao Clerical,’ or Clerical Celibacy, in defense of his position, with many detailed statements of facts. The book was burned by order of the ecclesiastical authorities; but a copy of it was found in a village of San Paulo not long ago, and an edition of 5,000 copies was immediately re-printed. The immorality which this devout Catholic Regent denounced in his day still defiles the influence of the church in Brazil. Some of the most active politicians here are known to be the sons of priests. Celibacy is too often only a cloak for immorality here. Good Catholics frankly tell you that this is one of the open scandals of their church, and one among many causes of its diminished influence and power over the educated classes.”

During several years earnest attempts have been made

by the writer to obtain detailed information of "Martyrdoms of Literature" in Chile in order to render the account of such experiences in America more nearly complete. A few details have been secured; but the revolution now in progress in that republic prevents access to all authorities on the present subject for the time being. Book burnings are alluded to by some Chilean writers.

THE END.

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